Daily Report

Latin America

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Cuba

Report on Castro in South Africa, Brazil

FL1605123794 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0000 GMT 14 May 94

[Report on Cuban President Fidel Castro's recent visit to South Africa and Brazil]

[Text] On 9 May, at 1907, Cuban President Fidel Castro arrived at the Jan Smuts International Airport in Johannesburg to participate in ANC President Nelson Mandela's inaugural ceremony on the following day. Commander in Chief Fidel Castro was honoring an invitation made to him and representatives from another 188 nations to witness the triumph of the first multiracial elections, the disappearance of racism, and the establishment of the first South African Government of national unity.

Prior to his arrival in South Africa, the Cuban president and his delegation made a technical stopover in Accra, Ghana, where the highest leader of the Cuban Revolution held a friendly conversation with President Jerry John Rawlings. The two leaders conversed on many topics, but mostly on the ANC and the triumph of the electoral process in South Africa.

In Pretoria on the morning of 10 May, mankind witnessed a political change unprecedented in that nation's history. The main news agencies of the world broadcast for more than 2 billion television viewers the most relevant historic event for the public opinion in the course of those 24 hours. Present were 5,000 invited personalities, 140 governmental delegations, 40 of them represented by heads of state and government. Nelson Mandela was sworn in for a five-year term. In taking over the destiny of South Africa, he stated to the world: We are committed to establishing a true and lasting peace, a society of which we can feel proud where all South Africans, Blacks and Whites, can live without fear for each other.

In that context, Fidel Castro dialogued with many heads of state and distinguished political figures such as Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Butrus Butrus-Ghali, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, Robert Mugabe, Sam Nujoma, Frederik de Klerk, John Rawlings, Yasir 'Arafat, meeting with a total of 30 personalities.

At the seat of government in Pretoria, on the morning of 11 May, Fidel Castro, the president of Councils of State and of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, held official talks with South African President Nelson Mandela.

[Begin recording] [Mandela, in English with superimposed translation into Spanish] Thank you very much. (?We need you.)

[Castro, in Spanish with superimposed translation into English] Please convey my greetings to Mr. De Klerk.

[Mandela, in English with superimposed translation into Spanish] Thank you very much, I will do that.

[Castro, in Spanish with superimposed translation into English] We have witnessed the death of apartheid and the birth of freedom. One of the most beautiful things we saw was the unity of the South African people from all sectors and all ethnic backgrounds, and no one can imagine how many were saying that the process continues to evolve in that direction. [end recording]

On the morning of 12 May, new South African Foreign Minister (Alsen Sock) and Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina officially established diplomatic relations between the two countries. Hours later, Commander in Chief Fidel Castro made remarks to the South African Broadcasting Company, one of the stations with greatest repercussions on the national public opinion.

[Begin recording] [Castro, in Spanish with superimposed translation into English] I will say this categorically: These have been extraordinary impressions. South Africa was for me a mysterious country and I have found an extraordinary country in all senses. [end recording]

After concluding his visit to South Africa, Cuban President Fidel Castro and the delegation that accompanied him made a brief stop in the Brazilian state of Salvador de Bahia. On his arrival the commander in chief was met by Bahia Governor Antonio Inva Say. Fidel also met with former Governor Antonio Carlos Magalhaes and local authorities.

Prior to his departure, Fidel answered the questions of Brazilian reporters interested in his visit:

[Begin recording, in Spanish with superimposed translation into Portuguese] [First unidentified reporter] What is Cuba doing to break the economic embargo?

[Castro] We are making all kinds of effort. We are working in the international sphere, at the United Nations, and in all the organizations. We promote solidarity. We try whatever is in our reach. There is a movement against the blockade that is gaining momentum in the United States. The immense majority of the countries in the United Nations condemn the blockade. Only two or three nations support the blockade. Meanwhile, the blockade has to be fought with deeds. With the efforts for the development of the country, the financial restructuring, and in the difficult circumstances, we also had to adapt ourselves to the collapse of the socialist bloc of the USSR which represented 80 percent of our trade.

The embargo has [words indistinct] our fighting spirit and resistance. I believe that no other country would have been able to resist what Cuba has resisted. Cuba resists, and it will continue to resist. In the long run, we will be worthy of the victory.

[Second unidentified reporter] In the United States, presidential candidate Luis Ignacio Lula da Silva called for the end of the blockade on Cuba. How do you see the position taken by Lula?

[Castro] I greatly appreciate his position. He has always held that position, as have many other political leaders. Generally all the progressive and democratic forces of the world oppose the blockade and that number continues to grow.

[Second unidentified reporter] What are the expectations for and what is the new economic plan to be implemented in Cuba?

[Castro] Well, it is not a new economic plan. This new plan has a series of measures. We are already developing our [words indistinct] adjusted to the conditions of the world we live in, which is hegemonized by the United States, without giving up our ideals, concepts, or the achievements of socialism. We are trying to adapt our economic work to the reality of the world we live in. Many are the things that we are doing, without shock policies and without haste. Just recently, the National Assembly of the People's Government [ANPP] approved a series of measures of principles designed to stabilize internal finances, one of the many problems we are facing.

[Third unidentified reporter] What changes, under these measures that were approved by the ANPP?

[Castro] Excess currency is reduced. [words indistinct] Cuba has done many things. I believe that the things Cuba has done can compete in quality and in democratic spirit with those things that have been done in many countries around the world. Because in our country it is not the party that nominates, but the people. In other words, in our country there are (?thousands) of parties. Each citizen has the right to nominate candidates and has the right to elect them. But since we do not have media multinationals, we cannot make our ideas known.

[Fourth unidentified reporter] What motivated you to make a second visit to Brazil?

[Castro] Many things. Let us say that it is geography. It is a big country in the southern hemisphere, at the world crossroads, a place through which one must pass. That is one reason. Another reason is that it is a friendly nation. A third is that it is a hospitable country. Fourth, it is a country we esteem. Fifth, I feel very happy every time I come here. Sixth, because relations between Brazil and Cuba improve everyday.

[Fourth unidentified reporter] Why Bahia?

[Castro] Because it is on my way. If I am going to Europe, for example, I cannot go through the Antarctic. I have to go direct to Madrid or Paris. It is an ideal stopover from the geographic point of view. From the friendly point of view, I know Bahia [words indistinct] We have many friends here who always receive us with affection.

[Fourth unidentified reporter] Do you have another meeting when you leave here?

[Castro] Yes, when I leave here I will have a meeting with Morpheus. [chuckles]

[Fifth unidentified reporter] Will you visit the city?

[Castro] I am in a hurry to return. I have been away from Cuba for over a week.

[Fourth unidentified reporter] At what time are you leaving?

[Castro] That is a military secret. [laughs] Probably, tomorrow morning. We must leave either in the morning or in the evening, depending on the weather. [end recording]

Yesterday afternoon [12 May], the commander in chief arrived in Havana after a tour that included Barbados, on the occasion of the first global conference for the sustainable development of insular states; a technical stop in Ghana; the presence of Cuba at Nelson Mandela's inaugural ceremony in South Africa; and a brief stop in Salvador de Bahia.

Castro Interviewed in South Africa

FL1605174094 Havana Cuba Vision Network in Spanish 0030 GMT 15 May 94

[Interview with Cuban President Fidel Castro by unidentified Cuban reporters in South Africa; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified reporter] Earlier this month, an ANC representative discussed the preceding events and explained that, once Nelson Mandela was inaugurated, South Africa would proceed to establish diplomatic relations with Cuba. That is their intent. They even included this in a document known as the New South Africa Foreign Policy Charter.

In view of the fact that we have already attended the inauguration and that certain talks have been held with cabinet representatives, what are the prospects that this will become a reality?

[Castro] Well, from the point of view of our relations with Mandela, the ANC, we have more than diplomatic relations. We have had close ties of brotherhood for many years. I believe we are family. Regarding foreign relations we are not demanding anything, or putting conditions; the closer our friendship with a country, the less we ask to establish ties. We allow circumstances and the appropriate moment to determine the establishment of ties. In the special case of South Africa, at this time, we could not make a definitive statement.

I have been received here like a brother, like a son. However, we have not pressed the issue of formal ties. I believe that perhaps tomorrow it will be brought up in the talks with the foreign minister. Robertico [Robaina] has been talking with the foreign minister. Tomorrow, I

will again meet with Mandela. Perhaps he will bring this up and ties will be immediately established. However, we will not bring it up. We must bear in mind what is good for them, and the appropriate moment to formalize ties, rather than bringing it up as a demand or as a request from us.

However, it seems inevitable that those ties will be established quickly because there are few countries with whom we have stronger ties—kinship and fraternal ties.

Today I greeted almost every minister. I do not speak with ministers of other countries. We talked like old relatives. I am convinced all of them want the prompt establishment of ties; but out of a basic sense of courtesy and respect, we should not exert pressure. They can do it whenever they are ready. Relations, de facto, are very strong between South Africa and Cuba.

Now, it is a matter of formalities. That formality could be fulfilled today, tomorrow, or the day after. Very soon.

[Unidentified reporter] Commander, further on this issue but on another aspect, independently of whenever the diplomatic ties are established: In what fields do you believe that cooperation could be developed the furthest in areas of common interest between Cuba and South Africa?

[Castro] Whenever we speak with South Africans or South African cadres, we discover great prospects. The first thing we notice is in the spiritual sphere. When they talk with us, at times, the things they say truly moved us. They express a fondness for Cuba which leaves us really speechless. There is an incredible bond of affection. I believe that few times has there been such a great bond with any country. When we speak with them and discuss their plans and ideas, given South Africa's condition, on one hand they have great development and high living standards; on the other hand, great social needs, for example, enormous need for housing, public health, schooling, and jobs. I was talking with the transportation people. I was introduced to every minister today at the luncheon. I was told they have many people who lack the means to move. I spoke with the transportation minister who said he has a difficult task ahead of him because means of transportation are inadequate even though it is a developed country. South Africa is a developed country. It has important technology, important industries; yet it has a large population that for many years has lived under apartheid and has a great stash of needs and dreams of a better life.

Therefore, the government is faced with having to find solutions to those problems. When you speak with the transportation minister you find out about these needs. When you speak with the housing minister, you find out about those great needs. When you speak with the sports ministers, you find about their dreams of developing sports. If you talk with the public health minister, you see their dreams of improving their people's health services; thus, the enormous social sphere on which there are prospects for cooperation between both nations. This would be beneficial both ways: cooperation from us based on our experiences, as well as South African cooperation based on their experiences, and technological development.

[Text] I also spoke with the education minister. They have great education projects. In other words, all you need to do is talk a while with each one of these cadres and ministers to understand that there is a very broad field for cooperation between Cuba and South Africa. This is undoubtedly the most developed country in southern Africa.

You should see the road infrastructure. I was telling the transportation minister: You may have a problem of not enough means of transportation, but you have great roads. They have good infrastructure in many areas. The problem is that the wealth has not been distributed fairly. You find, next to a superdeveloped world, let us say, an underdeveloped world.

With no other country, even in Latin America, are there such prospects for cooperation as there are between South Africa and Cuba, to the extent that we seriously work and study possibilities and continue to develop that highly fraternal and warm bond between our two peoples. I must add that we have taken notice of the very respectful treatment extended to us by every social sector, not only by ANC members but by the nonblack and mixed blood sectors, as well. We have also been welcomed by the white population. We have to keep in mind that this is a multiracial nation with millions of people from diverse ethnic backgrounds who have a vital need to cooperate among themselves. Today, we saw this spirit of cooperation.

Everyone is saying, and justifiably, that the hardest part begins now. Everyone knows that the hardest part follows the period of change, of liberation. That is true. I do not think his [Mandela's] task is easy. However, I believe that they have developed a significant talent to find solutions. What we saw today heightened our optimism regarding South Africa's future. Although we cannot say that South Africa's problems are solved, they have solved great problems. They have reached today, but I think they are going to have to continue the struggle. There is no doubt that Mandela is the man with all the qualifications to lead this process. He has secured decisive support. I believe he has to continue working to consolidate what has been achieved so far and avoid divisiveness. A united country is essential. This is what we most hope for, and we hope they attain it. Cuba will be very proud to develop cooperation with South Africa.

[Unidentified reporter] Commander, right now, in such a convulsed world, what does Mandela's victory mean for the progressive forces?

[Castro] I believe it is a great victory, a great victory of the South African peoples, the African people, and all the progressive forces in the world. It is a veritable example and hope. I believe that South Africa is called upon to exert a great and positive influence over the entire

continent. It is a renaissance, a revival, proof that great victories can be achieved even after the disasters that have befallen the world and that many things are still possible in a unipolar world.

[Unidentified reporter] Commander, for many years, Cuba and South Africa had great differences because of Angola. Did you ever think then, or later, that you would be here today in the former capital of apartheid?

[Castro] Well, there are two South Africas and two moments in history. For specific reasons, strong clashes took place at a certain time in history. Now, however, there is a new South Africa in which such clashes no longer exist—only peace, harmony, respect, and affection.

Your question dealing with Angola is very difficult to answer. First of all, we had to save Angola and its independence. We were in Angola for 15 years. From the beginning of intervention by foreign forces in Angola, we gave it our support—for 15 years. So many things happened. We had a strong presence, but it was not strong enough because we could not, nor did it depend on us alone to, reach a solution to the problem.

In Angola we fought with the greatest selflessness. The rest was the responsibility of the Angolan people. We were not Angola's only supporters. Nevertheless, we can say that we helped, selflessly and with great loyalty. I would say that our support was very efficient, and that Cuba's support was not only efficient, but intelligent. We have no reason to regret anything we did. Rather, we could say that several difficult times were confronted—difficult but not through our fault. Cuba fulfilled its duty every step of the way. Cuba contributed to the solution of the highly difficult problems that arose. I do not want to criticize anyone. I believe today is not a day to criticize. Perhaps history will record this.

This reminds me of what Jose Eduardo [dos Santos] said to me during today's luncheon, the very heartfelt, friendly words from the depths of his soul regarding the [words indistinct] meaning of Cuba's support to the southern Africa nations of Angola, Namibia, and South Africa. He pronounced truly moving words. This is why, in the analysis of our conscience, we find nothing to reproach.

In one of the most difficult periods, in the end, we had to make very hard decisions; and we did so. They were the correct decisions. The problem had to be solved. We could not afford to be so weak that we had to endure foreign intervention and be strong enough to solve the issues of foreign intervention. In such cases, if you are weak, you may incur a great defeat; if you are strong, you can spare many lives. This is the way it happened in Angola. We accumulated such a potential that it was possible to solve the conflict with a minimal loss of lives. Those were decisions made by Cuba, alone and solely. History has been distorted many times; but in 1975, when we decided to help the Angolan people against foreign intervention, the decision was Cuba's alone. At other times when we had to act in difficult situations, the decisions were Cuba's alone; at times, it is sad to say, in order to overcome mistakes made by others. I do not want to say by whom. However, I am not going to blame the Angolans; it was others.

We found we needed to act; even in the last, very difficult situation, mistakes were made—not our mistakes. That final situation was decisive or Angola would have been lost, with all the consequences and losses that would mean for the Angolan people and ourselves. All this influenced the events that afterward culminated in those negotiations by virtue of which Namibia's independence was attained with the implementation of Resolution 435.

I think this helped accelerate the process of the South African struggle against apartheid. The main, essential, and decisive merit belongs to the South African people. Our action might have helped accelerate that process. This is how we see it. This is a subject on which we have to be very careful. We should not be the ones speaking about this, but others. The South African and Angolan peoples have spoken of the selfless and noble solidarity of Cuba with their countries. We lived diverse moments which I believe shall be recorded in history as they happened.

To date, I see the events and development of the situation in South Africa as something wonderful. Much depends on what happens in South Africa, whether the country attains peace, harmony, and unity. This is what all of us ought to struggle for and contribute toward, so that the result of the efforts and sacrifices of many create a country that can serve as a model to the world on how to solve such complex problems as the ones experienced here.

[Unidentified reporter] Commander, do you not believe that this history is being written now? Today, Mandela referred to the guests at the inauguration, you among them, and said, and I quote: Not too long ago, we had to fight and in that struggle many nations helped us, nations represented here today.

[Castro] I believe he said more: Nations which even spilled their blood.

Yes, I was moved by that part of the speech. We owe a debt to history for the possibility of giving, offering, and reflecting on the essence of everything that has happened in the last 18 or 19 years. It is now 1994 and this began in 1975. Actually, it began before 1975 with our cooperation with the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and Angola, who were fighting against Portuguese colonialism. All in all, it began over 30 years ago.

The main part took place after 1975 when Cuba made a full commitment, when the Revolution committed itself fully. We have to point out that our Revolution played all its cards in that struggle, and more than once. A defeat under those conditions would have meant the end of the Cuban Revolution.

All this happened after 1975. We have to gather all that information. We have not yet written the history of the Cuban Revolution, but one of the most brilliant pages of the history of the Cuban Revolution was its selfless cooperation and solidarity with Africa. As someone once said, the leader of Guinea-Bissau, I remember, Amilcar [Cabral] said: When we are independent, Cape Verde and Cuba should become a federation. That is what he said. By this, I mean to say that he had extraordinary internationalist feelings. He is the one who said that someday our dead from Angola would rise up to negate the smear campaigns against Cuba by those who say that Cuba had ulterior economic and material motives in Angola.

He said those unforgettable words. Amilcar's death was truly sad. He was assassinated as other leaders have been. It pains me that (Zamora Machel) was not present in this celebration. It pains me that Oliver Tambo was not here today. There were so many people who struggled and deserved to see a day like today. It is painful to remember that they are no longer with us. However, we have the consolation of knowing that their work yielded fruit and is present in all these things we are seeing.

Well, our history could not have been more selfless, more supporting, more noble than that we have written in connection with the peoples of Africa and other parts of the world. I believe we have been steadfast toward our African heritage, our cultural heritage, our blood lines; toward our principles of solidarity with people struggling to gain their independence, their freedom; toward our principles of commitment to just causes in this world. We will never regret this. I believe future generations will always remember this with pride.

However, we must assume full responsibility with history, by ensuring that it gets written. It is about time to write down history. Or others will—and who knows what they would write?

[Unidentified reporter] We have witnessed the burial of apartheid, yet everyone is filled with happiness and joy; we experienced it this morning at the inauguration.

[Castro] We have witnessed the burial of apartheid and the birth of freedom. What we witnessed today is beautiful in the extreme. One of the most beautiful things we saw was the unity among the South African people, among every sector, and every ethnic group. You cannot imagine how much we wish right now that this process continue developing in that direction.

There are many things remaining in this world to be buried, however; and it seems the number of undertakers is on the increase everywhere. We also saw this in Barbados [words indistinct] irresponsibility which with the world's natural resources and living conditions are being destroyed. The number of undertakers of evil is on the increase, as well as the number of midwives of good.

Vice Secretary On Cuba's Role in Nuclear Organization

PA1605201394 Havana Radio Havana Cuba in Spanish 0000 GMT 14 May 94

[Report by Beatriz Padron from the "Evening Information Review" newscast; passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] In accordance with its policy of fostering and promoting sustained progress in the scientific-technical area—particularly, in peaceful uses of nuclear energy—Cuba has been playing for several years a pivotal role in the Arcal [expansion unknown] project. Arcal is a program that includes 17 Latin American countries, which seek to give their specialists access to state-of- the-art nuclear techniques and enable them to study the use of those techniques in all possible areas regarding the economic and social development of their nations. Here is Daniel Codorniu, vice secretary of the SEAN [Executive Secretariat for Nuclear Affairs], organization responsible for the Cuban nuclear program, with details:

[Codorniu] "Arcal is sponsored by the International Organization of Atomic Energy in order to promote cooperation among various Latin American countries for the peaceful use of nuclear energy. Cuba has participated in this program since 1987, and in the past years, our participation has increased. During this period, the program has implemented 12 projects, which are mostly related to the issue of applying nuclear techniques to solve social and economic development problems and establishing regulations and procedures to guarantee security [words indistinct]."

Cuban technicians and specialists will have an opportunity to exchange views and results in this area during the 11th Arcal Coordination Meeting to be held in Santa Fe de Bogota from 16-20 May.

[Codorniu] "During this meeting in Santa Fe de Bogota, we will discuss plans for 1995 and 1996 in addition to reviewing the program for the remainder of 1994. We are planning to include some new programs that Cuba has been supporting because they have a strong influence in our development. For instance, we are proposing a new program called induced mutations related with [word indistinct] and technology for improving crops in Latin America. This new program supports the joint use of nuclear and biotechnological methods to produce a better variety of crops."

Other events confirm Cuba's advances in nuclear technology. Daniel Codornieu believes the best example is Cuba's acceptance, at the end of 1993, as a full-fledged member of the prestigious American Nuclear Society's Latin American Division. The American Nuclear Society also seeks to coordinate nuclear efforts on the continent.

[Codorniu] "This is important because, as you saw [word indistinct], the former program is basically linked with

nuclear applications in areas such as agriculture and medicine. Although the Latin American division deals with application concerns, it concentrates on energy problems—the issue of developing nuclear energy to generate electricity—and investigations in the area of nuclear energy [word indistinct]. As a result, we are also able to collaborate in the area of nuclear security."

People's Government Leader on Delegates' Reports

FL1605224994 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 1935 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Humberto Rodriguez Gonzalez, president of the People's Government in Santa Clara, has stated that the current process in which delegates present progress reports to their voters has begun in Villa Clara Province and is going well. Rodriguez said that the idea of backing the measures approved by the national parliament has prevailed at the meetings, and that the delegates are well-prepared, fully informed on every matter concerning the population, in an effort to find solutions, or at least study the causes, of the difficulties.

The Santa Clara Administrative Council has agreed to begin having locally run enterprises reflect upon application of and compliance with the policy of (?cadres), very particularly those things having to do with workers' living standards. For this latter, an overall program will be formulated that will encourage an administrative leader to feel like one of the workers, but with greater responsibilities.

CTC Assemblies Process To Continue Through June

FL1605230594 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 1932 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] The subject of economic efficiency at each individual work center is at the heart of the discussions in the assemblies process being massively held by the CTC [Cuban Workers Federation] and its unions, as of today, in the same spirit as the recently held Parliaments in the Workplace. These assemblies began last month as pilot assemblies and will continue through the month of June, with the objective of avoiding marathons and favoring proper preparation of these meetings, which should be open and free of preconceived outlines.

The national leadership of the CTC has told its unions to be demanding regarding administrative reports, which may not contain justifications, but must instead be very objective about what needs be done at the work center to (?prioritize) difficulties and achieve efficiency. (?To begin) the assemblies, last Monday's [9 May] TRABAJADORES editorial will be read. That editorial is about this process.

Lugo Fonte Addresses Havana ANAP Event on Profit

FL1605224694 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 1942 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Orlando Lugo Fonte, national president of ANAP [National Association of Small Farmers], has explained that small farmers and members of cooperatives should clearly understand that one must be profitable as a result of increased agricultural-livestock production only, not higher crop prices. Speaking before more than 200 delegates, among them the presidents of 48 CPA's [agricultural-livestock cooperatives], whose production cost per peso does not exceed 50 centavos, Lugo, who is a member of the Council of State, reiterated that, for the economy, that is the useful path to take.

At this cooperative and small-farmer event, which is being held in the capital on the occasion of 17 May, Agriculture Minister Alfredo Jordan spoke of incorporating (Fregatte) irrigating machines as part of the strategy aimed at increasing production. Jordan pointed out, as a serious current difficulty, the acquisition of seeds, as well as the need for each producer to produce and preserve the seeds he uses to grow his crops.

Minister on Shortage of Medicines

FL1605181394 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 15 May 94

[Text] Between the last half of 1993 and the first quarter of 1994, Havana has experienced the greatest shortage of medicines ever remembered by health authorities. This was stated on 15 May by Public Health Minister Julio Teja in referring to the need for and advantages of the medicine distribution program:

[Begin Teja recording] We continue hoping to find the ideal, perfect method where there is an explanation for everything and everyone understands everything. What are the risks we run? The products and raw materials are arriving now, following the efforts made by the government, and we are able to increase the production of medicines a bit—not to a level that tomorrow will provide medicines of every type, but enough to conduct a recovery process. Thus, the term, even in GRANMA, is recovery. If we do not implement these measures now, we would have used up these medicines we are now getting; by mid- year, when we would have to implement the plan, we would have none because they would have once more ended in the black market. That is the reality.

In other words, medicines are ending up in the hands of three or four people. We cannot engage in a criminal act and hold back medicine until we have the perfect program. We have waited enough. We have worked with Havana hospitals to ensure the supply of the priority medicines. I say this because I believe that one of the things we have to do is to make the doctors understand. That is the truth. The document states that this is the opinion of the government and party leadership. The struggle has to be won with the health workers, the

doctors, pharmacists, everyone in that field. We believe that this battle is being won.

I want you to know that it is not only the doctor issuing unwarranted prescriptions, knowing full well that the medicine is not available. There was the question put by Comrade [Carlos] Lage about the doctor who comes—I was told this by several professors and doctors—to the neighborhood and tells everyone that beginning tomorrow, they can forget asking for prescriptions because he can only give prescriptions to be filled in the area where he lives, 42 km away. This is a way of damaging the Revolution.

We have to work against this. We have asked the help of the party and the unions. We have visited every hospital. Briefings have been given to every doctor in the Armed Forces, in every military unit. The Interior Ministry has hosted meetings with doctors who work in prisons, jails, etc. We have tried to inform most. As the banner reads: We will continue to conduct classes and reevaluation tests. However, this is a battle. This is combat. We have to gain awareness and support; if we had plenty of everything, these measures would not be necessary. [end recording]

Health Minister Julio Teja participated in the meeting of presidents of the People's Councils of Havana. Politburo members Carlos Lage and Ricardo Alarcon are also attending the meeting. Transportation, local industries, and telephone industry issues are also slated for discussion.

Cuba Vision Introduces Additional Weekday Newscast

FL1705014894 Havana Cuba Vision Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 17 May 94

[Text] As of this afternoon, Cuba Vision's viewers have a new newscast, one that will allow them to learn, early on, of the most important stories that will appear on the National Television Newscast [Noticiero Nacional de Television—NTV].

Every day, Monday through Friday at 1927 [2327 GMT], our newsroom personnel will have ready for you a summary of the main events making the news in Cuba and in the world. We will thereby inform you, quickly and directly, about the subjects that will be reported at greater length over NTV at 2000 [0000 GMT].

Dominican Republic

'Massive' Voter Turnout; No Violence Reported So Far

PA1605173194 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1601 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Santo Domingo, 16 May (DPA)—Dominican voters are arriving in large numbers at polling stations throughout the country. These polling stations are experiencing the usual problems in the handling and turning over of material, and delays in opening some centers.

The turnout of voters is massive throughout the nation. As of this morning no violent or controversial incidents have been reported. The most common complaints received by the Central Electoral Board were complaints about the delay in the opening of voting centers, the lack of voting material, and the lack of officials responsible for the voting process.

In addition, it was reported that numerous voters were not able to find their voting tables, particularly those who do not know how to read. Therefore, they did not have timely information on the change of location of their voting tables.

Spokesperson of the Dominican Liberation Party, whose candidate is former president Juan Bosch, charged that many of their followers are having problems voting because their names do not appear on voting lists or they are not able to locate their tables. The spokesperson for the Dominican Liberation Party indicated that this afternoon the party will elaborate on these accusations.

Most of the voting centers opened at 0600, as scheduled, and should be closed by 1800. In the capital, Santo Domingo, and in the rest of the nation, there is calm, there are few vehicles moving along the avenues.

The election seems tight between President Joaquin Balaguer, who seeks reelection by the Social Christian Reformist Party and Jose Francisco Pena Gomez of the Dominican Revolutionary Party.

In addition, former president Juan Bosch, from the Dominican Liberation Party, and Jacobo Majluta, from the Independent Revolutionary Party are participating as candidates.

A fifth candidate, father Antonio Reinosa, also seeks the presidency. He is backed up by a small movement.

Candidate Reports Election Irregularities

PA1705014894 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 0024 GMT 17 May 94

[Text] Santo Domingo, 16 May (DPA)—Jose Francisco Pena Gomez, main opposition candidate for the presidency of the Republic, this afternoon made serious charges against the Central Electoral Board (JCE), which he accused of "making an attempt against the democratic freedom of the Dominican people." Pena Gomez held the JCE responsible for the "serious consequences" this situation may entail.

The presidential candidate for the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) charged that there is an alarming misplacement of voter lists that has resulted in thousands of voters, including candidates from the opposition parties, not having the opportunity to vote in today's election. Pena Gomez called the current election

situation a "crisis" and said the Board knew about this situation beforehand and "has refused" so far to take corrective action. The opposition leader said the serious irregularities reported were corroborated by representatives of all parties, international observers, and the Catholic Church.

Pena Gomez made these statements during an unexpected visit at the JCE office, where members of the organization are meeting with OAS observers. He explained that the JCE "has been delaying" a solution to this problem. He said he holds the JCE responsible for what he describes as "irreparable damage" to Dominican democracy. Pena Gomez described the situation as "a serious attempt against the democratic freedom of the Dominican people." He asserted that the misplacement of lists originates in the fact the lists delivered to the parties do not correspond with those received by officials at the polling stations and JCE officials. He explained that the numbers remained unchanged "but what were changed were the names" so it appears to have been a preconceived move.

Pena Gomez noted that the situation in the capital is normal, but he enumerated several municipalities and provinces where, he said, the situation is serious. He even mentioned a case in one of these localities where approximately 20 percent of the voters have been affected. Pena Gomez dashed off to the JCE headquarters and did not answer questions from reporters, who asked him to elaborate on the possible consequences to which he had referred.

Balaguer Rejects Election Charges

PA1605190494 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1724 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Santo Domingo, 16 May (EFE)—Dominican President Joaquin Balaguer, who is up for reelection in today's elections, rejected charges of election irregularities voiced by the opposition. He termed the elections "exemplary." Earlier, Jose Francisco Pena Gomez, presidential candidate of the social democratic Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), had denounced "serious irregularities" in the elections, such as the existence of a double list of voters prepared by the Central Electoral Board (JCE).

Balaguer, who went to vote at the General Revenue Directorate after midday, said that everything related to the elections "is in the competent hands of the JCE" and he directed newspeople to that organization.

Balaguer reaffirmed that if he loses today's elections, he will hand over power "peacefully and in an orderly manner" on 16 August, and he will cooperate "unconditionally" with the winner.

The president and candidate rejected the PRD proposal that people be allowed to vote only with their new electoral identification cards, even if the voter does not appear on the list, to solve the irregularities he denounced. A few weeks ago, Balaguer proposed that electors also vote with their former electoral cedulas but his proposal was rejected by the JCE.

The blind, 87-year-old president, repeated today, as he did before the 1990 elections, that these will be the last elections he attends "because of my old age."

Voting Deadline Extended 3 Hours

PA1605231594 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2232 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Santo Domingo, 16 May (EFE)—At the exact time that the polls in the Dominican Republic were scheduled to close, 1800 local (2300 GMT) today, the Central Electoral Board [JCE] decided to allow voting for an additional three hours in view of charges of irregularities.

All opposition parties have charged that many of their party members were prevented from voting because abbreviated census lists were sent to their voting centers.

According to the JCE, all citizens with their electoral cards in order but whose names are not on the lists will be able to vote until 2100 local (0200 GMT on 17 May). Their names will be entered on the local lists, and their votes will be held for "observation," which means they will be held for further review.

Polls Close After Extended Voting Period

PA1705021994 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0117 GMT 17 May 94

[Text] Santo Domingo, 16 May (EFE)—The second deadline announced by the Central Electoral Board for today's general elections in the Dominican Republic ended at 2100 local on Monday (0100 GMT on 17 May).

The first deadline expired at 2200 GMT—12 hours after the polls opened—but at that time the electoral board decided to extend the voting for three more hours, forced by charges of fraud made by the opposition and at the request of the Dominican Catholic Church.

The opposition reported that the lists (of voters) held by the presidents of the voting tables had been reduced and that a large number of its militants were not listed and were not allowed to vote. The affected voters were allowed to vote during the three hours of "extended voting time" only by presenting their valid electoral identification card, even though their names did not appear on the lists. Those votes, however, will be "observed" (subject to an embargo until they are reviewed by a court) and will be submitted after a lengthy and difficult process.

Two Leading Parties Claim Election Lead

PA1705025494 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0210 GMT 17 May 94

[Excerpt] Santo Domingo, 16 May (EFE)—The two leading political parties, the ruling Reformist Social Christian Party (PRSC) and the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) claim they have a lead over their opponent in the general elections held today.

The PRD, headed by Jose Francisco Pena Gomez, claims this political group has a lead over President Joaquin Balaguer, who is running for reelection in today's general elections, with 51 percent of the votes as opposed to Balaguer's 37 percent.

Meanwhile, the PRSC claims that, according to the total number of votes counted, it has the lead with 370,000 votes over 350,000 votes of the PRD. [passage omitted]

Haiti

Cedras Threatens Mass Resistance to U.S. Intervention

FL1605210994 Port-au-Prince Signal FM Radio in French 1030 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] During a 14 May interview on CNN, General Raoul Cedras warned that the Haitian Army and people would fight to the death in the event of a U.S. landing attempt in Haiti to restore President-in-exile Jean-Bertrand Aristide to power. A military intervention, as reported by the U.S. media over the past few days, despite denial by the White House, would be the most terrible mistake by the United States, said the commander of the Haitian Armed Forces, whose departure has been demanded by the international community since the coup d'etat against President Aristide. The Americans will have to face a people, people of all sectors in this country including the Armed Forces, added Gen. Cedras, glorifying the resistance to the 1915 U.S. intervention, which he said caused 5,000 deaths in Haiti.

In an interview recorded before the 11 May appointment of the president of the Court of Cassation, Emile Jonassaint, to the post of provisional head of state, Gen. Cedras added that he would not resign despite the new sanctions that are due to go into effect next week. The strengthening of the embargo, imposed to force the high military command to resign, can only lead to social polarization and the risk of a social explosion, he explained. Since the sanctions began, they have destroyed the economy and the ecology. They have destroyed all institutions, the national soul, and have reduced Haitians to poverty, the commander in chief added. He recalled that for both himself and new President Emile Jonassaint, whose appointment was unanimously condemned throughout the world, the solution in Haiti must be negotiated among Haitians. He said he regretted what he called the dialogue of the deaf with Washington.

Many people in our society have rejected Father Aristide, said the general, who asserted that before his exile, the president tried to reverse the spirit of the elections and turn them into a dictatorship. Cedras minimized reports of the massacres of Aristide's partisans throughout Haiti. He called this information rigged and exaggerated, adding that in his opinion, the slightest thing is reported as a human rights violation.

Provisional President Appoints De Facto Government

PA1605213294 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2034 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Port-au-Prince, 16 May (EFE)—Provisional Haitian President Emile Jonassaint today established a new government with the support of the military regime that toppled Jean-Bertrand Aristide nearly three years ago, and thus assumed the leadership of the cabinet.

Jonassaint, an 81-year-old judge, in appointing the members of the cabinet, assumed the position of prime minister, which is specified by the Constitution of this country.

The new cabinet members will be installed today in Port-au-Prince.

The appointments revealed by Jonassaint include a dozen ministers and a secretary of the Council of Ministers.

Jonassaint's de facto government follows:
Interior and defense: Joseph Willio Noailles.
Foreign affairs: Charles David.
Justice: Louis Toussaint.
Economy: Rigaud Duplan.
Education: Charles Poisset-Romain.
Information: Jacques Saint-Louis.
Commerce and Industry: Jean-Robert Delsoin.
Health: Jean Boisrond.
Planning: Emmanuel Ford.
Social Affairs: Maud Thimotee.
Public Works: Jacques Rousseau.
Agriculture: Andre Joseph.
Secretary of the Council of Ministers: Fritz Canton.

Jonassaint Publishes List of Appointments

FL1605215194 Port-au-Prince Signal FM Radio in French 1800 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

In view of the 1987 Constitution;

In view of the resolution of the Senate of the Republic dated 10 April 1994, supported by the deputies of the 45th Legislature;

In view of the resolution of the Senate of the Republic dated 10 May 1994 relating to the enforcement of the preceding resolution;

Considering that on 11 May 1994, the president of the Court of Cassation was invested with the powers of provisional president of the Republic by the Senate, accompanied by 35 deputies;

Considering that there is good reason to appoint members of the ministerial cabinet, and after concerted action between the provisional president of the republic and the presidents of the two chambers, decree orders:

Article One. Citizen Rigaud Duplan is appointed minister of Economy and Finance;

Citizen Charles David is appointed minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship;

Citizen [Joseph] Willio Noailles is appointed minister of the Interior and National Defense;

Citizen Jacques Saint-Louis is appointed minister of Information, Culture, and Coordination;

Citizen Jacques Rousseau is appointed minister of Public Works, Transport, and Communication;

Citizen Maude Thimotee is appointed minister of Social Affairs;

Citizen Jean-Robert Delsoin is appointed minister of Commerce and Industry;

Citizen Emmanuel Ford is appointed minister of Planning, External Cooperation, and Public Service;

Citizen Jean Boisrond is appointed minister of Public Health and Population;

Citizen Charles Poisset Romain is appointed minister of National Education, Youth, and Sports; and

Citizen Andre Joseph is appointed minister of Agriculture, National Resources, and Rural Development.

Article Two. A certified copy of this decree will be entrusted to each of the concerned persons.

Article Three. This decree will be printed, published, and executed for legal purposes.

Completed at the National Palace in Port-au-Prince on 16 May 1994, the 191st year since the independence, by provisional President Emile Jonassaint.

Chamber of Deputies Not Recognizing Government

PA1605230194 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2123 GMT 16 May 94

[Report by Herold Jean-Francois]

[Excerpts] Port-au-Prince, 16 May (EFE)—"De facto" Haitian President Emile Jonassaint today decided to select his cabinet on his own, after being unable to get a prime minister for his contested government. Upon designating the cabinet members, Jonassaint assumed the duties of prime minister as established by the Haitian Constitution. The new members of Jonassaint's government, imposed by the military and a minority group of legislators, assumed their posts at a ceremony held at the National Palace.

The appointments made by Jonassaint include 12 members and one secretary of the Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

Jonassaint, who did not appointment anyone to the post of prime minister, now becomes the constitutional head of government. If he had appointed a prime minister in any case, it would have been nearly impossible for him to convene the parliament and get legislative approval, observers added. According to the Haitian Constitution, the head of government—prime minister—must be selected with the approval of the Legislative Branch.

The Chamber of Deputies has warned it will not recognize Jonassaint, 84 [age as received], nor any other appointment that is made. Several deputies have said that the only person who has the legal authority to convene them is constitutional President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, overthrown on 20 September 1991 by the military coup led by Gen. Raoul Cedras. [passage omitted]

Jonassaint Guarantees 'State of Law'

PA1705014294 Paris AFP in Spanish 0046 GMT 17 May 94

[Text] Port-au-Prince, 16 May (AFP)—Emile Jonassaint, the provisional Haitian president who has not been recognized by the international community, pledged on Monday to guarantee the 'state of law,' and announced the creation of a "national commission of security and guarantee for the citizen."

Speaking during the inauguration of his government, made up of 12 members, Jonassaint said that the new "electoral deadlines" will be respected "according to the situation." During the ceremony held at the National Palace in Port-au-Prince, seat of the Presidency, Jonassaint congratulated the new ministers for the "courage" they showed when they accepted to be part of the government.

He also pointed out his plans to struggle against crime and to stop the departure of Haitians to Florida. He asked for "integrity" from the "guardians of the public treasury."

The ceremony was held in the presence of General Raoul Cedras, chief of the Armed Forces, who was accompanied by the Haitian military command, high-ranking officials, and some politicians. Representatives from the business sector and from the important and traditional political groups were absent.

Malval Addresses Cedras, Jonaissant in News Conference

FL1605195394 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1600 GMT 16 May 94

[Report by Rotschild Francois, Jr. on a news conference by resigning Prime Minister Robert Malval in Port-au-Prince on 16 May—recorded; passage within italics in Creole]

[Text] Resigning Prime Minister Robert Malval met with the media this morning to condemn the appointment of attorney Emile Jonassaint as provisional president. Malval especially addressed the head of the Army, General Cedras, demanding his resignation. He asked state employees to disobey the new ministers. This ocurred this morning during a news conference. The following is a report by Rotschild Francois, Jr.

[Begin recording] [Francois] The prime minister of the resigning government launched into an attack against the provisional presidency of attorney Emile Jonassaint. Robert Malval asserted in a firm, categorical tone that he does not acknowledge the government of Jonassaint, calling him a puppet. The prime minister, speaking before the local and foreign media at his private residence, called on state employees to disregard orders from the Jonassaint government. Malval directly addressed the provisional president, Emile Jonassaint, in these words:

[Malval] First, I would like to say this to Emile Jonassaint: If it is true that merit does not honor age, in my eyes, age likewise does not confer merit on one who does not bear age with dignity, as in your case, Sir. You are not president of the Republic and you do not have a government. The only legitimate government is my own resigning government, until my constitutional successor is designated by President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, and ratified by the legitimate parliament, two entities resulting from the free, democratic votes of 16 December 1990 and 20 January 1991.

(To) high state employees, financial authorities, and officials of the decentralized organs of government, the resigning, constitutionally legitimate government advises that any orders not coming from it are null and void and that you have the right, even the obligation, to ignore them. All those who participate in this puppet government will be responsible to the country and to the Haitian people in the future for their actions.

[Francois] Resigning Prime Minister Malval also denounced Army chief, General Cedras. In the opinion of Malval, the general actions are jeopardizing national sovereignty. Malval said that by installing Jonassaint to power, Gen. Cedras—to repeat his own words—took his last action. He added that Gen. Cedras has contributed to the violation of national institutions, while it is the Army's duty to defend and protect them. The prime minister formally asked the head of the Army, Gen. Cedras, to step down, to give Haiti a chance.

[Malval] I am saying to Gen. Cedras: Morally, you are not worthy of the title of commander in chief of the Haitian Armed Forces [FADH]. As the number-one person in charge of the Army, as the guardian of national institutions, you helped to violate them. What is worse, you have not had the courage to even appear on this grotesque scene, while you pay men and women to be your front.

General, a true chief is honorable in his word. A true chief does hide behind others. When he wants power, he prepares himself accordingly and takes power, but does not hide behind [other] people.

General, for nearly three years, you have trapped our country in the dark. The time has come for you to leave so a new day can dawn for the Haitian people. For nearly three years, you have been leading the Army down the path of infamy. You must leave so it can again find its way to the homeland that your disproportionate ambitions have today endangered with threats of [military] intervention. Meanwhile, I make you personally responsible for the safety of the members of my government, my colleagues, and my family. Thank you, Ladies and Gentlemen.

[Francois] It should be noted that during this announcement, the prime minister tooth and nail attacked the senators who subscribed to the parliamentary act of 11 May. He labeled them phony nationalists, and specifically invited Senators Dupiton, Sansaricq, and Belizaire to give their green cards, which allow them to be legal residents of the United States, back to the U.S. Government on behalf of the nationalism they say they are defending.

Asked about the military option to resolve the crisis, Robert Malval expressed opposition. We will return to this news conference in our upcoming newscasts. [end recording]

Urges Boycott of Provisional President

PA1605221794 Paris AFP in Spanish 2032 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Port-au-Prince, 16 May (AFP)—Resigning Prime Minister Robert Malval, who is recognized by the international community, this Monday asked Haitian officials not to obey Provisional President Emile Jonassaint, who is not recognized by the international community. He also asked Army Chief Raoul Cedras to resign.

Jonassaint this Monday presented the list of his 12 government ministers, all of whom are civilians and mostly considered close to the president. The cabinet will not have a prime minister, and Jonassaint will assume total executive power.

Malval, during a news conference held at his residence, addressed Jonassaint by saying: "You are not the president of the Republic; you don't have a government. The only legitimate government is my outgoing government,

until my constitutional replacement is designated by President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and ratified by the legitimate parliament."

Referring to Cedras, Malval said: "You must leave so we can return to the fatherland's path, endangered today by your incalculable ambitions and the threat of intervention that may result. As first Army commander, you were the guardian of institutions, and you helped violate them ... You did not even have the courage to step out onto the burlesque stage from which you manipulate paid men and women," Malval added.

Malval accused several "accomplices" of General Cedras for having U.S. work permits authorizing them to work in the United States, adding that that "would permit them to escape when things go wrong." He cited Bernard Sansaricq, leader of one of the blocs of the Haitian Senate, as being among them.

The outgoing prime minister warned Gen. Cedras that he considers him "personally responsible for the security of the members of my government, collaborators, and their families."

Malval's bodyguards were withdrawn the day after Jonassaint's appointment, sources close to the prime minister explained.

The unconstitutional Executive formed by Jonassaint consists of high-ranking officials and professionals whose mission will be "to take steps to [lift] the embargo and keep the national boat afloat under the exceptional circumstances Haiti is facing in light of unjust hostility," a government source told AFP.

Nationalist hard-liner Willio Noailles, former Education Ministry general director, was appointed minister of interior and national defense, a position which had been held, nearly without interruption following Duvalier's fall by active duty or retired military officers. The position of foreign affairs minister was entrusted to Charles David, an expatriate Haitian, who was a journalist in Montreal working for the daily LA PRESSE.

Attorney Rigauld Duplan, head of the juridical service of this ministry for 10 years, was appointed minister of economy and finance.

Conacom Temporarily Suspended From FNCD on 7 May

FL1605222494 Port-au-Prince Signal FM Radio in French 1030 GMT 10 May 94

[Text] According to a communique issued by the National Front for Change and Democracy [FNCD], a copy of which reached AFP on 9 May, a resolution adopted 7 May by the assembly of delegates of the member organizations of the FNCD, has temporarily suspended the National Congress of Democratic Movements [CONACOM, headed by Education Minister Victor Benoit] from this political grouping. The signatories of this resolution, Evans Paul and Turneb Delpe, two FNCD spokesmen, [word indistinct] CONACOM's categorical refusal to take a public stand to join the front line as a compromise solution advocated by some FNCD member organizations.

They further indicate that despite recommendations by the delegate assembly of member organizations of the front, ordering all parliamentary members and organizations of this political grouping to stop taking stands on the parliamentary plan, CONACOM has deliberately ignored these requests. According to Delpe and Paul, this behavior constitutes a blatant violation of Article 9 of the FNCD statutes.

CONACOM Reacts to FNCD Suspension

FL1605223294 Port-au-Prince Signal FM Radio in French 1030 GMT 10 May 94

[Text] The reaction of the CONACOM was not long in coming. Dunois Eric Cantave questions the right of some FNCD leaders to censure a member party of the front. Cantave, the CONACOM person in charge of political affairs, reacted to the FNCD resolution provisionally suspending CONACOM from the front due to blatant violation of Articles 8, 9, 11, and so on, of the FNCD statutes, as stipulated in the Front's 7 May resolution. Cantave calls this FNCD decision illegal and asserts, among other things, that his party is not ready to accept the compromise solution advocated by some member organizations of the FNCD.

[Begin recording, in Creole] Certainly no authorities within the front can take sanctions against CONACOM. We were trying to save the front in order to avoid a breakup. If it is broken up, which will really be unfortunate, we will form another front. But we will keep... [pauses] each organization will continue working for democracy within the scope of its autonomy. But nobody, no organization in the FNCD, can expel CONACOM because CONACOM has worked for the progress of the front; it has worked so the front can move in the direction of the country's democratic conquests. We will not accept any illegal practice, to try—I say try—to expel CONACOM. [end recording]

That was Dunois Eric Cantave, person in charge of political affairs for CONACOM.

MNPH Asks Army To Defend National Sovereignty

FL1605214294 Port-au-Prince Signal FM Radio in French 1030 GMT 10 May 94

[Text] Haitian soil must not be defiled. May all social strata unite to oppose any military intervention in the country. This was a statement by Necker Pierre, supported by the Haitian Nationalistic Progressive Movement [MNPH], asking the Haitian Armed Forces to assume their responsibility in defending national sovereignty.

[Begin Pierre recording] Since February 1986, and even before 1986, we noted a transfer of power to the destroyers of the homeland. The country has been sold to

foreigners. Now, may the Haitian people and the Haitian Army join the ideals of Dessalines, Toussaint Louverture, [Henri] Christophe, Capois [Lamort], and Charlemagne Peralte to challenge those sons of colonists who want to defile the sacred soil of Haiti at all costs.

MNPH asks the Haitian Armed Forces to show serenity, and as the institution responsible for the defense and integrity of the national territory, not to take into account this resolution called 917, which violates the charters of the United Nations and the OAS, and which ignores the position of 2.2 million voters; that is, 70 percent of the Haitian electoral body, who did not vote for Jean-Bertrand Aristide on 16 December 1990. [end recording]

Negotiators Comment on Central American Trade Talks

PA1705020794 Mexico City EL FINANCIERO in Spanish 13 May 94 p 26

[Article by Socorro Lopez Espinosa]

[Text] The free trade agreements being negotiated with Central America and other areas in Latin America "are not and will not be a free ticket for access to NAFTA." We will negotiate with each country or group of countries in accordance with the interests of each. In addition, the agreements with Central America are "to promote rather than to regulate trade" as was the case with the two North American countries.

Herminio Blanco, deputy secretary of International Trade Relations of the Secretariat of Commerce and Industrial Development (Secofi), and Jesus Flores Ayala in charge of Latin American negotiations for the Secofi, expressed themselves in these terms while participating in a course on "Public Administration Vis-a-vis the New Dimensions of Foreign Trade between Mexico and Central American Countries," which was organized by the Secofi and the National Public Administration Institute (INAP).

Herminio Blanco pointed out that Mexico is interested in negotiating with Central American countries: Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala (Mexico has already signed an agreement with Costa Rica), but as to how far and how these nations want to negotiate with Mexico must be determined. Besides, it is up to the Central Americans to decide if they want to join NAFTA.

The Partial Reach Agreements [Acuerdos de Alcance Parcial, AAP] are a very "old" model no longer functional within the framework of ongoing economic and trade globalization. What is more, of the agreements currently in force only 50 percent of a total of 1,000 tariffs are being used. Through these agreements Mexico has imported only $51 million from Central America, two-thirds of this amount from Guatemala. That is why free trade agreements are sought to modernize relationships in order to encourage investments and joint investments, to exchange technology, and to create jobs, in essence for the economic development of countries, Blanco stressed.

He made clear that the rules of origin established in trade agreements with Mexico are simple, and above all seek to reduce costs and avoid the illegal transshipment of goods. The established rules are balanced according to the interests and competitive capacity of the countries seeking free trade.

In addition, Jesus Flores Ayala, in charge of negotiations with Latin America, warned that agreements such as that signed with Costa Rica "are not a free ticket for access to NAFTA" because the grounds for negotiations on specific items are different, in the long run they might be complementary, but it is obvious certain adjustments have to be made to comply with NAFTA provisions.

The Central and South American countries must evaluate "if they are or are not in condition to compete on an international level with prevalent market conditions." In this sense, for example, Guatemala and Honduras should define what they want to do in trade, whether to negotiate bilaterally or as a group with El Salvador. This is despite a long-standing "political agreement" that all three Central American nations together would negotiate with Mexico. While they decide about their positions, we must not lose any time and must continue to negotiate, Flores Ayala said.

Lastly, Herminio Blanco stressed the importance of updating relations between countries, and seeking opportunities and access to markets within the context of equality and mutual benefits.

PRC Delegation Meets With Agriculture Officials

PA1405034094 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1517 GMT 10 May 94

[Text] Mexico City, 10 May (NOTIMEX)—Agrarian Reform Under Secretary Gustavo Gordillo de Anda exchanged information and experiences on agrarian topics with a Chinese delegation led by Agriculture Vice Minister Liu Chengguo.

In the meeting, the goal of which was to strengthen bilateral relations, they analyzed cooperation for various programs and projects to help rural producers. Gordillo de Anda stressed that President Carlos Salinas de Gortari has paid special attention to the rural sector through the reforms of Constitutional Article 27 and the new agrarian law.

Chengguo said his country is taking several actions to overcome the crisis in the countryside, including the elimination of the commune system and the organization of cooperatives that will permit the development of the Chinese countryside. He said his country views exchange and cooperation with Mexico as important because its experience in investment, support, and autonomy for peasants is valuable and will be useful for China.

The members of the Chinese delegation met with the heads of the Agrarian Prosecutor's Office and the National Agrarian Registry [Registro Agrario Nacional—RAN], with whom they exchanged viewpoints on the Procede [expansion unknown] and RAN programs.

The meeting was also attended by Senior Officer Raul Pineda Pineda, Agrarian Organization Director Ricardo Chavez Perez, and Rosalia Enciso of the Foreign Secretariat.

Candidate Cardenas Meets With EZLN's Marcos

PA1605164194 Paris AFP in Spanish 1423 GMT 16 May 94

[By Antonio Ortega]

[Text] Guadalupe Tepeyac, Mexico, 16 May (AFP)—During a meeting with center-leftist Mexican presidential candidate Cuauthemoc Cardenas, Zapatist National Liberation Army [EZLN] subcommander Marcos warned that, "if there is not a peaceful path" toward democracy in Mexico there will be "a path of war" leading to "a transition government and a Constituent Assembly."

Cardenas is the first presidential candidate to attend a meeting with the rebels who took up arms on 1 January. The meeting was held on Zapatist territory in the Lacandon jungle and under strict EZLN security measures. The location is difficult to reach, requiring five hours of travel on unpaved roads.

Marcos, EZLN's military commander, harshly criticized the Party of the Democratic Revolution [PRD], whose candidate Cardenas is, according to Marcos not the best alternative for the transition to democracy. Marcos said that PRD "imitates what poisons the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party [PRI], that is, government circles' plotting, betrayal, the existence of power groups, and neglect of the rank and file." In addition, the PRD does not offer a political project designed for the majority of the Mexican people.

Marcos said that EZLN differentiates between Cardenas and PRD, but he criticized the PRD campaign saying that through it the party attempts to "again side with the powerful ones."

On 21 August, close to 50 million voters will elect a new Mexican president from among nine candidates.

In an event regarded as "historic" by the participants, Cardenas met with the EZLN general command and talked with Marcos at length on two occasions during a special meeting near Guadalupe Tepeyac.

In a message addressed to some 200 delegates of Zapatist communities, the presidential candidate said he shares "with many Mexicans" the rebels' demands, particularly regarding democracy and social justice.

During an impromptu news conference, Cardenas said if he is elected he will respect any agreement reached between the extant government and EZLN and that otherwise he would seek a peaceful solution of the conflict "in the framework of the law." Also, he heard EZLN command leaders say they "have hopes for but mistrust" the candidates' because, they say, "the government has always deceived us with promises."

The rebels, wearing balaclavas or colored bandannas on their faces, warned Cardenas that they are determined to fight "down to the last round of ammunition" for their demands, but they asked Cardenas "to keep the homeland in mind" if he attains office as president.

The meeting, which was held during a Zapatist celebration, turned harsh because, while Cardenas spoke of settling the conflict peacefully in the framework of the law, the Zapatists virtually ruled out PRD, PRI, and the conservative PAN as guarantors of the transition to democracy and the possible originators of social changes in Mexico.

Cardenas said he is optimistic about the possibility of a shift to democracy in Mexico, a framework through which a solution to the Chiapas problem should be sought, because without this solution "it will be impossible to solve the country's problems."

EZLN Leader on Meeting With PRD's Cardenas

PA1705021894 Mexico City Radio ACIR Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 17 May 94

[From the "ACIR Radio News" newscast]

[Text] The PRD was harshly criticized when its presidential candidate Cuauhtemoc Cardenas Solorzano met yesterday with the general command of the EZLN in Guadalupe Tepeyac, Chiapas State. Subcommander Marcos said that a better Mexico might surface if EZLN demands are taken into consideration.

[Begin Subcommander Marcos recording] We want to thank all the men, women, children, and old folks, who got together to receive and feed Mr. Cardenas Solorzano and the persons accompanying him. These children, old folks, women, and men are the true support of our EZLN, its [words indistinct]. If any government were to be based on them, it would be a good government. [end recording]

That is what Subcommander Marcos said. In addition, he told Cuauhtemoc Cardenas that the PRD is not a democratic party.

Meanwhile, Diego Fernandez de Cevallos, the presidential candidate from the National Action Party, ruled out any possibility of meeting with Subcommander Marcos. Diego Fernandez de Cevallos says he cannot meet with a person who covers his face, even though his reasons may be justified.

Presidential Candidates Debate

PA1605123994 Mexico City Radio and Television Networks in Spanish 0300 GMT 13 May 94

[Debate between presidential candidates Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de Leon of the Institutional Revolutionary Party, PRI; Cuauhtemoc Cardenas of the Party of the Democratic Revolution, PRD; and Diego Fernandez de Cevallos of the National Action Party, PAN; with moderator Maite Noriega at the Fiesta Room of the Technological Museum in the Federal Electricity Commission Building in Mexico City—live]

[Text] [Noriega] I am inviting the candidates to enter this forum in the order established by the results of the lottery we just conducted. Good evening, Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, PRD candidate.

[Cardenas] Good evening.

[Noriega] Good evening, Dr. Ernesto Zedillo, PRI candidate.

[Zedillo] Good evening.

[Noriega] Good evening, Diego Fernandez de Cevallos, PAN candidate.

[Fernandez] Good evening.

[Noriega] Ladies and gentlemen, before opening the debate I will briefly outline the rules agreed on by the parties to conduct this debate.

It will be divided into three parts. Each candidate will have the floor for an equal amount of time, under equal conditions, and in the order established by the results of the lottery.

The first phase begins with an eight-minute exposition by the candidates, who will discuss their political ideas in general terms. Later, each of them will have two opportunities, one of five minutes and the other of three minutes, to comment on the views of his adversaries, respond to questions or observations made to their own comments, or expand on his initial statement.

In the second phase, the candidates will have five minutes each to outline their proposals. Then each candidate will have two three-minute rounds to expand on their statements.

Finally, each candidate will have three additional minutes to deliver a final message.

It is important to remember that the candidate speaking cannot be interrupted and cannot use any more time than that established for each portion of the debate. Now that these rules have been outlined, we will open the first part of this debate.

PRD candidate Cuauhtemoc Cardenas has the floor.

[Cardenas] The moment for this long awaited debate has arrived. This is a moment without precedent for the candidates who are promoting a democratic change: A moment on television, which had been closed to us. I hope this is not the last meeting of the three candidates who are here. I hope that the PAN and PRI candidates agree to meet again on other occasions before 21 August and to meet also with the candidates of the other parties.

This opening of the media is, without a doubt, a victory for those who from various positions and in various organizations have been struggling for a democratic change in our country.

I have been able to travel throughout the country. I have been doing this for the past six years. We have found an abandoned countryside, closed factories, and dismissed workers.

We have found poorly served dining tables. In these trips throughout the country we have seen roads in bad condition and situations that the majority of the Mexicans cannot appreciate.

In sum, we have found a situation most Mexicans cannot agree with. We can say that no one, except a few, very few, are better off today than in 1988.

What we have found in our trips throughout the country is a nation deteriorated by corruption, arbitrariness, and the lack of investments and opportunities.

With very few exceptions, most of the people, at least those living in areas where the country's resources are located—a significant majority—are all seeking some type of change, and all of us would like this change to be fair and reasonable. We should not be afraid of change.

We should all think of the changes that occur throughout our own lifetimes. Changes begin to take place in a small child who transforms into an adolescent, a young adult, and finally into a full-grown adult. As time goes by, we learn and acquire new experiences, and we learn new ways to resolve our problems.

This is the type of change we are seeking for our country—a change that will allow all of us to progress and resolve the source of our problems; a change that will also allow us to rise out of the mess into which the current administration has led us, and move to a place that will permit us to enter a stage of development and creativity that will allow us to take advantage of our resources. We are seeking a transformation that will allow us to guarantee our children their right to life—their right to be children who are not forced to work and, in turn, are able to study, play, and laugh. We are seeking fair and reasonable changes for every youngster throughout the country, enabling him or her to have access to education and employment—changes that will allow them to take part in sports and encourage their creativity in the arts and culture.

We are also seeking changes that will allow Mexican workers to improve their wages and to have tangible job opportunities. We want changes in which women will be allowed to advance toward genuine equality—a term that has become dead in our laws. We want changes that will open the door to new opportunities for women. It is up to all of us—women and children included—to pave the way to new opportunities and for these changes to take place at work, at play, and during cultural and political activities.

We are seeking fair and reasonable changes that will allow our farmers to plow their fields—changes that will not compel them to abandon their lands to see how they can earn a living on the other side of the border, only to

find themselves facing the uncertainties that prevail over there. We are seeking changes that will enable us to take into account the important contributions we have received from our retirees and senior citizens—people who are responsible for what we are today.

Nevertheless, we cannot accomplish any of this with the government we now have. We cannot accomplish this if we continue with the current policies that have only led us into a situation of crisis—a situation in which the only thing we can expect is that corruption, price increases, and environmental pollution will continue to pummel us. If we set our sights on this task, we can attain changes. These are changes for which we will have to work, especially if we expect to improve the climate of freedom. Enhancing the scope of democracy will allow us to develop economically and prevent us from stagnating, as has happened recently, and it will permit genuine social equality to exist in our country.

It is critical for us to progress in three important areas: democracy, economic growth, and social equality. The current administration has said that economic growth comes first. Nevertheless, it has been unable to implement any changes, and it has not been able to institute democracy. This government has caused increased poverty, and I would like to call attention to the fact that the PRI candidate has said the greatest shame—his greatest shame and his government's greatest shame—is none other the poverty in which these people have plunged thousands of Mexicans. This poverty has tended to grow. I would like to call on all Mexicans to prepare for changes. All of us—urban and rural workers, artists, and citizens throughout the entire country—should prepare for these changes which, if we are willing, can be engendered.

[Noriega] Ernesto Zedillo, candidate for the Institutional Revolutionary Party, PRI, has the floor for eight minutes.

[Zedillo] Good evening, fellow citizens. Thank you for your attention. Good evening, Maite. Good evening, Messrs. candidates. I appreciate your acceptance of my 24 April invitation to hold this debate, which undoubtedly will strengthen our democracy. The upcoming 21 August elections are about the most important issues. They are about the future of Mexico; they are about the future of our families; they are about the future of our children. Tonight's debate is for and about the future of Mexico. Each Mexican family will have the well-being it deserves—the well-being that it should have, which Mexicans have worked for in the past and will work for from this moment onward, and not because of what we have failed to do in the past. That is why tonight's debate is about the future, not the past, my fellow countrymen.

I am sure that pretty soon Mexico can become the fully democratic country with progress and justice that all Mexicans are yearning for. That is why I assumed—with great sorrow, yes, but also with steadfast determination—the responsibility of becoming the standard bearer to replace Luis Donaldo Colosio. I have done so to work for the Mexico of which we all dream. I have confidence, my fellow citizens, in Mexico's future. My confidence resides in knowing that time and again we Mexicans have overcome our problems. We have overcome adversities. At times, we have defended our sovereignty, even with our own blood. My confidence also lies in my personal experience. I hail from a family in which limitations and poverty were a daily experience. Thanks to the efforts of my parents, however, and thanks to the efforts of my teachers and the opportunities offered to me by Mexico, I stand here today aspiring to be your president. This is Mexico—a land of opportunity.

My confidence is also based on our country's strength—a strength that should make us Mexicans extremely proud. My hope to serve my fellow countrymen is substantiated by a life of work, study, and knowledge, and a life of getting to know the country's problems. It is supported by a public career of many years which I began when I was very young. My career has taken me from the most modest positions of public administration to accepting two state secretariats. I know that I am the youngest of the presidential candidates, but I can assure you that I am the one with the most experience in good government.

I want to place my knowledge, my studies, and my experience at the service of my fatherland. Today, more than ever, I want to do so to become part of the solution to our problems. I want to do so in order that those problems which weigh heavily upon you today, my fellow citizens, can be overcome, because we have the ability to overcome them.

In matters of justice, I am convinced that the country will progress only if all Mexicans adhere to the fulfillment of the Constitution and laws and if those people who fail to do so are invariably punished in the terms of the law itself. I must recognize the fact that this is not the case today. There are many people who are annoyed by the prevailing injustice, the lack of security, and violence, and, often, the corruption of the police corps and the Public Prosecutor and Attorney General's Offices. This is why I am proposing the total reformation of our judicial system. This must be a deep-rooted reform, starting virtually from ground zero, because we need a justice system that will function for the Mexican people. We must establish a legal system that will protect citizens' rights, that will avert violence, and that will rid us of our security problems. I am certain, my fellow citizens, that we can achieve this together.

In terms of economic matters, without giving way to inflation and without returning to the policies of the past, we must reestablish growth. Our economy must grow faster than our population to enable us to generate the jobs you are demanding. This is why I propose an economic policy whose key mechanism will be the promotion of investment in order that we can take advantage of this great national state we have, as well as take advantage of the world markets that have opened, thereby generating the jobs that are being demanded. I think that with an investment policy that will encourage

new businesses, bolster the ones extant, help the Mexican countryside, and encourage new activities in service and export industries, I am certain, my fellow citizens, that we are going to generate those jobs. I am also proposing to promote technology to give, together with training, a great boost to production. In other words, this should enable us to do things better in order that we can become more competitive, and, above all else, increase wages.

New economic growth, my fellow citizens, will provide us with resources to fight poverty. Poverty is our greatest challenge. We must work to enable those many thousands of Mexicans who still live in conditions of poverty to overcome this poverty. We will do this without paternalism. We will break this vicious circle—this circle of poverty and ignorance in which they are trapped today—providing them with education, health, dignified housing, and alternative sources of employment. I propose that the greatest triumph of our generation be the defeat of poverty. With jobs, better salaries, justice, and a frontal attack on poverty, we will be satisfying your demands, fellow Mexicans.

We will do so by strengthening our federal system, by making the decisions not here from the center but, rather, from where you live. We will do so, my fellow citizens, by strengthening our democracy. I invite you to work together with us for that future—that future of progress, that future of justice, and that future of democracy, which we all want for our children, my fellow citizens. Thank you very much.

[Noriega] Diego Fernandez de Cevallos, candidate for the National Action Party, has the floor for eight minutes.

[Fernandez] My fellow Mexicans, friends: We are a young nation, with a majority of young people. We are a peace-loving people who want to work to live in a dignified manner and who want to progress. We have vast moral, cultural, religious, and historical wealth. Our country is large and beautiful, featuring abundant minerals and oil. As a birthright, we have the eternal embrace of the seas.

We have over 10,000 km of coastline, 10,000 km of coastline and beaches, with everything that it implies, from the viewpoint of tourism, trade, and nourishment. In view of everything that we have, the question we must ask is: Why is there hunger, neglect, unemployment, insecurity, guerrillas, and death among us? I think it is because we have not achieved a just order, because we have not been able to form good governments, because policy usually is not subject to ethics, and because the economy has not been truly human.

No, Dr. Zedillo, we have not come here to speak only of the future. To speak of the future, we must also speak of the present. To understand the present, we must speak of the past. In short, the debate will soon begin. For me, far beyond the extent of the debates, my interest is to invite you, the men and women of Mexico, "to participate in change, to leave selfishness, indecision, and cowardice." We need to know how to face the challenge today and we need authentic social leaders to turn into genuine political leaders. The task must be for all of us. Politics are far too important to leave them in the hands of politicians.

Undoubtedly, we have all heard fiery speeches in favor of democracy. Generally, however, they are from the viewpoint of rights. The PAN wants to insist today, as it did 54 years ago, that democracy too is doing one's duty. I invite you—friends and colleageus—to all go and vote freely, according to your conscience, because in that manner, we can democratically direct the destiny of our nation. Dr. Zedillo, if we all agree that a change is urgent than we must agree that we do not want to change in such a way that everything remains the same. Nor do we want, Mr. Cardenas, to return to a past to which we should not return.

"The National Action Party's view is that we should seek a change that does not imply destroying everything Mexico represents because it has cost the Mexicans a lot to have most of what we have." We need to achieve a change that will consolidate the good things, but at the same time be capable of overcoming and rectifying both political and economic diversions. I tell you, friends and colleagues, I believe that in the presidency I will be supported by you, as well as by the history of PAN and my work there, which has always been democratic.

From the opposition, fellow citizens, the PAN has secured rectifications in the government. When the government has made rectifications, we have supported such decisions for Mexico, for you, for the nation. We have also clearly marked the differences we have with the government. The differences are both political and economic and I will mention them briefly. We continue to defend effective suffrage, which the government does not respect. We advocate division of powers, which is not respected in Mexico. We promote authentic federalism, the municipal life. In one word, we advocate the state of law. Economically, we continue to advocate a truly human economy, at the service of humankind, in which we will all have the opportunity to work and benefit from the distribution of wealth. I frankly believe we have deep differences. I tell my friends and companions that we have a country and we have the people. What we need is a good government.

The PAN lives democracy internally and wants to share it with you, because it wants Mexico to live democratically. As PAN candidate, I invite you to support us for the Congress majority, to be able to reach the presidency of the republic, and to make Mexico a country in which we can live harmoniously with stability and progress. Thank you.

[Noriega] The opportunity to reply now goes to PRI candidate Mr. Ernesto Zedillo for five minutes. Please go ahead, sir.

[Zedillo] Thank you very much. My fellow Mexicans, during the past five years, our country has made enormous efforts to overcome a very pressing financial crisis. We have done it in order to set the foundations for future

economic growth. Neverthless, we must acknowledge that this process has been very drawn-out. It has been a very difficult process. We are only now starting to witness the first concrete results. I have travelled throughout the country, and after campaigning for barely one month I have already received more than 34,000 letters. The common feature of all these letters is people's anguish over their lack of employment or lack of better wages. That is why I am proposing a national agenda, starting from the foundations we have already, to establish economic growth as the first priority during the next few years. I recommend to do this with a program based on trust, conviction, and investment promotion to encourage the jobs you are all demanding. A central feature in this strategy must be proposals related to small and medium-sized businesses since they are responsible for 60 percent of the country's employment. It is in this sector where Mexico's greatest export capacity lies. It is also because of this that I propose a fiscal, credit, training, and technology program to provide new incentives for small and medium-sized businesses to encourage the jobs you are demanding. Another issue very important for this agenda to address is attention to the rural sector. Fortunately, we have already carried out reforms to Article 27 of the Constitution which has resulted in ending an era of oppression against Mexican farmers. This reform explicitly establishes prohibitions on large landholdings and will enable us to fulfill the dreams of liberty and justice for which Zapata fought. That is why, beginning from the aforementioned legal ground rule, I propose a policy of dynamic investments in the rural sector. This policy will include training for farmers, new technology, access to timely credit and at fair prices, and guidelines that will enable them to market their products. My fellow compatriots, I propose we take advantage of our enormous national market and those foreign markets which are now opening up to us as a result of negotiations carried out by the government during the last few years. These negotiations were intended to create and elicit more employment. In addition, I propose that with the motivation we will elicit as a result of technology and training, we attempt to raise productivity. In turn, productivity will guarantee better wages for all Mexicans. With this new economic ability and more encouragement to save and invest, we will have a dynamic economy that will reward the efforts and sacrifices you have made during the last years to overcome the crisis. I am convinced that the time has come to pass from sound national finances - as Luis Donaldo [Colosio] would say - to sound household finances. It is time the effects of positive macro- economics be felt in the pockets and tables of each Mexican farmer and worker. I would like to assure you, my fellow compatriots, that all of this is possible and that we can all do it together. Mexico can have one of the world's most dynamic economies. This will be one of our greatest challenges during the years to come. I am quite sure that we can accomplish this as long as we set our sights on the future, as long as we decide not to revert to old policies, and as long as we remain willing not to experiment with what proved to be a complete failure. My fellow Mexicans, the future is in our hands. Let us all work together to make it happen.

[Noriega] PAN candidate Diego Fernandez de Cevallos now has the opportunity to reply. Please proceed, Mr. Fernandez. You have five minutes.

[Fernandez] Thank you, Maite. Well, since we are here for a debate I would have liked to focus my time on Mr. Zedillo because of what he represents. Nonetheless, these minutes are for you, Mr. Cardenas. On several occasions you have said that Mexico's options lie between what the government offers and the option for democracy that you represent. Using the facts, I will establish that you do not represent a democratic option and that moreover, you are a man who straddles both the opposition and government sides.

Just look and see. Today, from the opposition, with democratic inflexibility, you contend that the government must remain on the sidelines of the election process. Yet you proceeded to implement an election law in Michoacan where you controlled the elections. I have a copy of the law right here.

Second, today you describe yourself in schools and universities as a tolerant, pluralist man, respectful of the younger generation, freedom of expression, and freedom to teach. However, in 1985 during your term as Michoacan governor you imposed Marxist-Leninist teachings. The text you imposed at the time is right here, in case you wish to review it.

And you are not just that, sir. In addition to appearing these days as a tolerant and respectful person—and we might even say a person that students like—the one thing you never mention to them is that you approved a law in Michoacan that really violates dignity, not only of the students but of an entire nation. I would like to read an article of the law which, by the way, was signed by you and which I hope you haven't forgetten. Just look for a minute at Article 101 of the State Education Law, which reads as follows: Any teacher who undertakes individual or collective activities that tend to disrupt public order will be separated from the state educational system. According to this law, all the youth involved in the events of 1968 would thus be out of the national education system. This is something you never mention to the students.

Here is another concrete fact, sir. Today you criticize the government—and rightly so—for deceitfully and illegally transfering funds to the PRI. Yet you yourself transferred funds to the PRI when you were governor of Michoacan. You have already acknowledged this. I have a recording of you in case you would like to hear it.

Last, you contend that you oppose the system of handpicking [dedazo] and presidential authoritarianism. I would like to demonstrate here, with documents, that you have indeed opposed handpicking, but only when it does not favor you. I would like to go back several

years—and Mr. Zedillo, please allow me to review some history here. In 1974 you say that when Echeverria appointed Mr. Torres Manzo to be presidential candidate through the usual mechanisms, you made a public statement that the government did not find amusing. Here is the proclamation. However, years later you were elected governor of Michoacan. When a friend of yours asked you how you were elected governor, you replied: I expressed my interest to the president of the republic, and I was finally advised that I was the candidate.

Mr. Cardenas, this is evidence that you are in both the opposition and the government. I can understand your presidential aspirations, and even your obsession with wanting to become president, but we have gotten to know you as part of both the opposition and the government. In this respect we do not believe that you are the best option for Mexico.

In conclusion, I would like to tell you that if we Mexicans are to believe your assertions that you represent the best democratic option for Mexico, then we would have to believe Aburto's claims that he is a pacifist. Thank you.

[Noriega] PRI candidate Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, you now have the floor for five minutes. Please proceed, sir.

[Cardenas] I have never and will never conceal what I am. I acknowledge the events in which I have participated throughout my life, and in this respect, there is nothing for which I can reproach myself. I have been permanently involved in a struggle for democracy, the country's improvement, and our nation's sovereignty.

I want to say that the proposals we heard during the first part of this block of time might sound pretty similar to those who are listening to or watching us. But it seems that our words do not always mean the same thing. We have strong differences with the PRI and the PAN.

Regarding the PRI, I can say specifically that we cannot believe them. We have no reason to believe either the official party's candidate or the official party itself. They say one thing and do another. We all know that 6 July 1988 was marked by fraud and that this served as the basis for a government that to this day—something about which we can do nothing—lacks legitimacy. All candidates present here have spoken at one time or another about clean elections. But we say that the 6 July elections were the most fraudulent elections in the country's history. At this point we should ask that when each of us speaks about the upcoming elections, the PRI may be thinking that the 21 August elections will be exactly the same as those of 6 July 1988.

We also have differences with the PAN. One particular difference led us to not only adopt different positions but also to confront each other on our views of how to move toward democracy. When we voted in 1989 on the constitutional reforms of electoral issues, when the PAN voted with the PRI to take a step backwards, to close off democratic opportunities, this led to a confrontation between us. Nevertheless, I would like to use this occasion to invite PAN to join efforts so we can make our country move toward democracy—to unite so that, in a joint effort, PAN and the Party of the Democratic Revolution can make a decisive contribution for a democratic change in our country.

We cannot believe the government candidate. It seems like he is just now noticing corruption, unemployment, and the many things lacking in the country. He seems only now to notice that government policies are a failure. He said this himself a few minutes, a few moments ago. He admits the failure of government policies due to all the backwardness these have caused the country. Thus we have no reason to believe in the system, the regime, which has been the greatest manufacturer of unemployment in our country, which offered us 1 million jobs a year and has barely been able to meet one-third of this goal. The government offered us supported, sustained, and growing education; instead, our educational system has seriously deteriorated. We cannot believe those who offered us economic growth. Today we are clearly bogged down. We must remember that the development plan was prepared by Dr. Zedillo. By now we should have achieved 6 percent growth, by the end of the six-year period, and we are barely at 0.4 percent growth. These policies—the ones offered by Dr. Zedillo—cannot lead us to anything but six more years of the same. Six years of stagnation, corruption, contamination—six years that would only mean a decline, an abyss for the Mexican people.

[Noriega] Candidate Diego Fernandez de Cevallos of the National Action Party, you have three minutes.

[Fernandez] Thank you. Mr. Cardenas, of course I am willing to work with all those who want to work for democracy, but in a serious manner, not only when it is advantageous or circumstantially favorable. You did not rebut any charges, so I will dedicate these minutes to Dr. Zedillo.

Dr. Zedillo, I want to tell you something that perhaps many millions of Mexicans would like to say. According to the information we have been given recently, we know you were a good boy who got high grades. But you don't get a passing grade in democracy. Let me tell you why. Allow me to make a comparison. I am here because thousands of free men and women in the PAN voted freely for my candidacy. You, with all due respect, are here as a result of two tragedies. On the one hand, the death of Colosio. On the other hand, the presidential designation. You are not responsible for the first one, but the second one disqualifies you. At least, if we are speaking of democracy.

On another topic, in what is left of my time—your strength is economics. We know you are a good economist, and your most outstanding participation in the government, some aspects of which you mentioned, has been precisely in economic areas. There the government has failed on fundamental issues.

As a political party we have tried to act honestly. We recognize and are not ashamed to admit the things the government has done right. That is the function of the honest opposition, not to destroy everything or to question everything arbitrarily. I do want to tell you that when we do find differences, we make note of them.

For us, your national development plan accounts for 40 million poor; 40 million poor is the outcome of your national development plan. Of course, there are some macroeconomic plans that we have recognized, but the final outcome is not justified. We hope you can tell us what happened to the projections you made, as secretary, of the deficit in current accounts. You made projections and failed repeatedly and for years by thousands of millions of dollars. We hope that you can tell us, if time permits, what happened to your growth projections of 6 percent for 1993. We are at least 15 times below that. And regarding your plans and promises, I want to tell you that in any event I will have to believe you 15 times less than what you say. Thank you.

[Noriega] Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, candidate of the Party of the Democratic Revolution, you have three minutes.

[Cardenas] I am surprised by the democracy that the PAN candidate sometimes preaches. I would think that we have to be looking at the government front in Guanajuato, not Carlos Medina, but Vicente Fox. In short, that is just something I will leave for you to ponder.

I insist that we cannot believe the PRI candidate. The judicial officials who engage in extortion, the inspectors who accept bribes, the chiefs—those who were hired to establish cordons in Lomas Taurinas in Tijuana on 23 March—all belong to the PRI. Why should we believe the government candidate now when he offers changes? The ruling party candidate has been an outstanding official of this regime, although I would not say a man of experience in good government because we have seen that his passage through the government in reality has been failure, failure in programming, failure in education.

But the important thing is what lies ahead. Why should we believe the PRI candidate when the government is the principal promoter of violence, the one that caused the Chiapas uprising, the one clearly responsible for corruption which Dr. Zedillo now recognizes? He now realizes, now that he is candidate, that there is corruption in the government. This was not until now. It took him quite a while to find out that there were flaws, things wanting, inefficiencies, and corruption in the government. Now we wants to correct it. He did not do this when he was an official in charge of important government positions. You, Dr. Zedillo, are the ones who generate violence; who are responsible for corruption both inside and outside the government; who have prevented the country from growing, from having better living conditions, from having more opportunities in education and culture, from making use of our natural resources. You have led the country—and I insist on this—to this economic stagnation, which has generated the largest unemployment figures ever recorded in our history.

[Noriega] Ernesto Zedillo, PRI presidential candidate, you have three minutes, sir.

[Zedillo] Thank you. First, I would very respectfully like to ask the candidates not to seek political profit from the murder of Luis Donaldo Colosio—particularly you, Mr. Cardenas. Throughout Luis Donaldo Colosio's campaign, you frequently used your well-known verbal violence. I was especially offended when on 10 December, in Hermosillo, Sonora, you called Luis Donaldo Colosio a bad Mexican who was acting against the national interest. Instead of trying to profit politically from his image, you should apologize to Luis Donaldo Colosio's family.

Mr. Cardenas has said that the proposals all sound alike. That is true, because day by day his proposals become more and more like those of the government. As Mr. Cardenas realizes that his proposals are not welcomed by the Mexican people, he has adopted the government's proposals for himself. The question that arises now is: What would have happened if Mr. Cardenas had won six years ago, which he did not, and we had followed the economic policies he offered us? These were political policies of government deficit, that ignored inflation, allowed uncontrolled public spending, opened more state enterprises with subsidies to be paid by the people.

My fellow Mexicans, the answer is very clear. Today the country would be submerged in the deepest of poverties. Our economy would be a shambles. This is why I insist on speaking about the good things we have achieved, and there are plenty of them, which are not the result of the government's efforts alone, but of the efforts of the whole Mexican community. We must recognize our faults. I do. I will be the first to do so. We must move on, based on our strong points and our weak points. We have everything we need for a growing economy. We have the foundations, thanks to our sacrifice and our efforts. I propose we begin growing again and use the profits of that growth to fight poverty. I insist. Fighting poverty is our greatest challenge, and I am sure that fighting and defeating poverty will be the greatest achievement of our generation.

[Noriega] We have concluded the first part of our debate. Now we would like to hear general proposals from each of the candidates. Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, PRD presidential candidate, you have five minutes, sir.

[Cardenas] The axis of our proposal is democratic change: moving toward democracy by ending the current government party regime. On the other hand, we have the recovery of a productive economy. We must make one very important change. This will be a radical change in our country: Start abiding by the law and the constitution that the government systematically violates every day in this country. If we abide by the law, we will have a radically different country. We favor the separation of

powers, true federalism, autonomy of our municipalities, the development of a system of freedom in our country.

We want to recover our economy by centering our efforts on establishing economic policies and generating jobs. These are the main challenges Mexico will face to effectively reactivate our economy, as we move toward the end of the 20th century and into the beginning of the 21st century.

We propose establishing an economy that takes people into account, not like that of the current government, which has disregarded Mexicans. We will begin an emergency plan that focuses on job creation and the reactivation of the economy, after launching an intense public works program that may lead economic growth in our country.

Additionally, we will begin to prepare a plan for sustained growth that we can implement beginning in 1996, that is, after the first year of government. This will permit us to reactivate and promote productive investments, as well as to finance our development without going into debt. We will only spend what we earn.

On the other hand, this plan will enable us to implement profound fiscal reform, creating a fairer and simpler tax system. This will permit us to end fiscal terrorism. We are going to eliminate the 2 percent tax on company assets as well as the harsh tax system.

But I didn't want to end this segment without raising other concerns. The government continues to violate our laws systematically. It continues to create dependency relationships, appointing officials who earn high wages and who are above the laws promulgated by the government.

Why did we create this national security coordinating board? With this we place officials above the secretaries of government, national defense, and the Navy. This is an offense against our Armed Forces.

On the other hand, we see that the government is purchasing water cannon vehicles. Is this to prepare for elections? Why does this government want this equipment? Why is this equipment being delivered to the Secretariat of National Defense? I believe this equipment should never have entered the national territory. In any case, it should have been delivered to municipal and metropolitan police forces. Or does the government want to pit the Armed Forces against the people? Does the government once again want to pit society against the members of our Army and Navy? This is the only explanation that can be found for these policies: to continue pitting Mexicans against Mexicans and not trying to resolve problems through conciliation.

Let us agree on how to advance. Let us agree on how to resolve problems. Let us all decide to walk together, those who may agree or disagree—the former carry more weight—to create democracy, to advance, to create a productive economy, and to achieve social equality. Every day this government is taking us farther away from social equality.

[Noriega] PRI candidate Ernesto Zedillo, you have five minutes.

[Zedillo] Thank you very much. I would like to use this time to address a very important issue for all Mexicans. I am referring to education, compatriots. Do you know education is the key to individual, family, and national advancement? Do you know the only real thing parents can leave to their children is a good education? Even those less privileged Mexicans know this very well.

A few days ago, a street boy, Jesus Crisantos, a boy who does not own anything, a boy who lives on the streets abandoned and exposed to vice and criminality, told me: Candidate, what we need most is education, because you know that when we grow up, if we don't have education, we will not accomplish anything in our lives.

If we have education, we will show the people who think the kids in the streets are worthless that we are very valuable. Even Crisantos, the street boy, has a clear idea about the value of education.

Like all of you, I am convinced that we have to embark on a huge crusade for national education in the next few years. I had the very high honor of being the education secretary for almost two years. With the Mexican teachers' support, I was able to implement an educational reform program during this period. This reform allowed us to decentralize education, out of the hands of the federal government and into the hands of local governments. It was a true act of federalism because we took power, resources, and authority from the federal government and gave them to local governments. We were able to accomplish the first reform of lesson plans, programs, and material in 20 years. We also established a new promotion system for Mexican teachers. Furthermore, we worked to reform Article 3 of the Constitution and established for the first time in our country, the right to education, compulsory education, and the government's obligation to provide preschool education.

Although we accomplished all this, compatriots, we know there is still a lot to do in education. That is why I propose a great crusade for national education. We must set ambitious goals for the year 2000. I propose, compatriots, that we end illiteracy. I propose, compatriots, that we guarantee that all children of age attend grade school because, even today, 15 percent of our children do not enter grade school, and many leave school before the sixth grade. I propose, compatriots, that we make high school compulsory. I propose that we multiply opportunities for training and technological education. I propose, compatriots, that we give a big push to further university studies at public universities and technology institutes. We have to make sure that no boy with talent, ability and desire be left without university studies. Let us establish a national scholarship system for them. I propose, compatriots, as a special task, that we take

education to the less privileged sectors in the country. Allow me to tell you that it will not be enough to open a school with teachers to achieve this objective. We have to take a big step and establish assistance programs that will provide food to those children so they can enter school and can remain there. It is a big task, compatriots, but it will be worth it. It is a task that we have to undertake for the future of our children. It is a task that will cost money. But I am sure we will be able to achieve this goal with the resources generated by our new economic growth. I believe it is a worthwhile cause. The country's best investment is in its people because they are the foundation of our future. Thank you, compatriots.

[Noriega] PAN candidate Diego Fernandez de Cevallos. Please, you have five minutes.

[Fernandez] Thank you, Maite. I must respond to two charges. First, Mr. Cardenas, in Guanajuato the election was won by PAN. The post belonged to PAN. If we only managed to partially correct the transgression, don't blame us—that is all we were able to do. We are not to be blamed for a fraud that was only partially corrected. However, I would like to tell you that I hope we can talk about electoral issues in the next debates, as you have suggested. For the time being, I have documents here with me, which I can present to you right now, on 23 cases in Michoacan, where your party was the one that emerged victorious and not as clearly as PAN's and Foxx's victory in Guanajuato. I am at your disposal for any debate on the issue.

Second, Dr. Zedillo, I have done nothing that could lead you to recommend that I not try to profit from Colosio's death. I have been very respectful regarding this tragedy. I was appalled at the crime and publicly expressed consternation. I only said that this crime was one of the reasons you were here. However, I also said that you were not responsible for it. I have not profited from the insidious and cowardly crime against Colosio.

I now move on to the proposals. From the PAN's perspective, it is not a matter of well-intended and demagogic recipes. Mexico's problem is that the country needs to be rebuilt. The country's reconstruction demands that all Mexicans make a big effort to develop a clear vision—from a truly humane point of view—of what Mexico is, with both its history, Dr. Zedillo, and its present in mind so that we can further its future. It is not a matter of inventing patches, recipes, or new programs and projects; we already know where they end up. We need a clear philosophy to run the country, we need democracy, and we need money.

Allow me to list a few basic measures—briefly, because we only have a few minutes.

1. As president of the republic I will form a plural government. This is fundamental. It will not be a partisan government. A pluralist government is necessary if we want to attain peace and harmony among Mexicans.

2. As president of the republic, Mr. Zedillo and Mr. Cardenas, I will not be the head of a political party. I believe I would be the first Mexican president not to be the head of a political party.

3. I will respect and abide by the 20 agreements for democracy, which a very broad-based group of very prominent citizens from all across the nation have presented to the presidential candidates. I adopted it as my own because it is concurrent with the discourse and programs of the PAN, and therefore, I endorse the commitment.

4. I will respect the federal authority of the states and municipalities.

5. I will immediately increase by 100 percent the budget allotments for every municipality. This is a clear and viable offer. The allotments for each and every municipality in the country will be increased 100 percent. Let no one tell me that this is an unrealistic increase, because by removing just one expense account from the president's hands, we can increase the municipalities allotments 100 percent.

6. As part of a heroic national crusade for public security, I would propose the creation of a national guard. That is already included in the Constitution.

7. Regarding the administration of justice, I would propose the creation of a general council, tasked with recomposing and reorganizing this branch of government.

8. A national crusade is also urgent in education. We must reevaluate the role of our teachers. We must not change the secretary of education three and four times during the term, as was the case in this presidential term. We must increase spending and charge it to related items on the budget and to contributions from the community, especially if implementing a policy that would make such contributions tax deductible.

During the next administration we must achieve absolute discipline and honesty in government spending. We must pursue the fair, simple, clear, and permanent regulation of our administrative and judicial laws to allow farming and small and medium-size industry to flourish. Speaking of agriculture, our farmers demand justice and money. As time is short, I can only say that I will not allow a single case of land tenure or squatting. Let me say that during my next turn I will address financial openness. This is essential to prevent banking oligopoly and to create millions of jobs that the country needs. Thank you.

[Noriega] Ernesto Zedillo, PRI presidential candidate, you have the floor for three minutes.

[Zedillo] Thank you. My fellow Mexicans, this time I would like to continue on the issue of justice. One of the most distressing problems worrying our people, our families, is the lack of public security. We must admit that today the people do not feel that the law is on their

side. Every day we hear about acts of violence, aggression against the honest and decent citizens of our cities. Quite frankly we must accept that our justice system leaves much to be desired. There are examples of corruption in the police force, in the Attorney General's Office, in the district attorney's offices, and there the deficiencies in the administration of justice which are almost commonplace.

One of the main proposals of the government I hope to lead is to completely reorganize our justice system. Such reform must begin by reviewing of our laws. Let's face it—in our country there are still unjust laws. One clear example are the laws that deprive our women of their equal rights. I have presented a package of modifications to change that. I have also said that the the executive branch should not monopolize the work of the Attorney General's Office. I will promote the necessary reforms to end that monopoly.

I will modify, in coordination with state governments as part of our federal pact, the way in which police corps prepare, operate, and function. I will sponsor reforms of the Judicial Branch, undoubtedly to give it a greater autonomy; to give it total independence from the Federal Executive Branch; but it must also be a reform which guarantees that judges will be fair and that they will always grant citizens their legal rights. Fellow citizens, now is the time to launch that great legal reform. I intend to make this one of the first points in our government. It is true we must end corruption, impunity, arbitrariness. Hence, the legal reform.

[Noriega] PAN candidate Diego Fernandez de Zevallos has three minutes to speak.

[Fernandez] Thank you. Undoubtedly, financial opening is necessary in this country. The government has committed a crime by opening up Mexican borders to the competition of the farming sector and the micro, small, and medium-sized enterprise, while protecting a banking oligopoly. This is not fair. This is a crime that cannot continue.

We need to use internal and external savings to capitalize the farm sector, as well as micro, small, and medium-sized enterprises. We also need to get society involved in creating a modern infrastructure. Just think of the railroads. They are still Porfirio's after 100 years.

I will promote the immediate opening and pluralism of the media, without insults or rancor toward anyone. You know who I am talking about. We all have the need to have media sources that are useful to society.

I would like to make one final reflection, ladies and gentlemen. It is necessary that the government always maintain a frank, sincere, and constructive dialogue with the whole population. It is necessary for the government to call on the population to work on Mexico's behalf. The government of the republic must guarantee that there will not be harshness or tolerance with regard to the law; there must simply be justice and understanding so that all Mexicans can get along well.

I am determined to undertake, with your support, a federal government, a presidency of the republic that will radiate nobleness, dignity, and capacity to resolve problems. I am sure this can be done with your support. It is necessary that, once and for all, Mexicans have a government to support, a government to trust, a government of which to make demands. It is not fair once more that plans come and go, that once more they become just literature gone with the wind. Today we demand a commitment to the truth, and today the democratic choice is indubitably National Action. This is the peaceful offer I will talk about later. Thank you.

[Noriega] PRD candidate Cuauhtemoc Cardenas will now speak for three minutes.

[Cardenas] The PRI candidate has realized too late that there are corruption and deficiencies in the police forces, the Attorney General's Office, and in the administration of justice. We should ask ourselves: why does he realize this now? Above all, why does he wait until now to report this? Why didn't he do it when he was an official in the current administration? It is now that he realizes many promises in the education sector—he was secretary of education—have not been fulfilled. Acccording to the Constitution, elementary and secondary education are mandatory. One-fourth of the children who should go to elementary school do not. In secondary school, only 26 of 100 who first register are able to graduate. No effort was made in this administration to meet the constitutional obligation of making elementary and secondary education mandatory.

This government did not care much about improving conditions for workers. Today, teachers earn in real terms less than half—48 percent—of what they earned in 1981. Why must we then believe the progovernment candidate when he said he will now begin to worry about education, that there will now be training programs, that there will now be better and more schools for Mexicans?

His administration incurred very heavy spending—and he says we have to invest in people. Well, sometimes investments are made in people—but only in some, and in very few. Indeed, they invested in very few people to prepare and publish the textbooks that many of our children still lack. The very costly textbooks are still being stored in the Education Secretariat, and we have yet to hear a public explanation about why a contest was held, prizes given, printing expenses paid, and the books then shelved when our children lack basic textbooks in schools throughout the country.

What does the PRI candidate offer us? More of the same? More lies? More unkept promises? I do not think this is what the majority of Mexicans want. I think we want a reasonable and just change.

[Noriega] PAN Candidate Diego Fernandez de Cevallos, you have three minutes.

[Fernandez] To end?

[Noriega] No, sir, you have three minutes in this second segment.

[Fernandez] In this second segment, I would like to insist that today, more than ever, it is necessary to seek the votes of all Mexicans, the votes that Mexico needs: the vote of conscience, the vote of reason, the vote that will seek a better future for us all. We cannot accept the vote of fear, that accomplice fear that will allow everything to continue the same—to Mexico's detriment, should it happen. To continue the same is to deteriorate. Nor can we accept the vote of rancor and resentment, which comes with vengeance and violence. We need the vote of harmony, the vote of peace. The National Action Party candidate invites you to work together for a Mexico free of lies.

We need to take advantage of this opportunity to rebuild the entire country. We, the men and women of Mexico, need to make an effort. Allow me to make a special call to youngsters. I call the young people of this country to intervene seriously and in depth, without lies, without pranks, without cowardice. All Mexicans have to step in, but there is a bounty, an endowment, an incalculable treasure in the women of Mexico. I believe that women can, if they decide to do so, change Mexico on 21 August. They can change, on 21 August, the course of a country that will only improve with the work of all its children. I ask young people and women to decide for an honest, peaceful, pluralist, civilized change.

We need to include everybody in this effort. PAN's political offer is pluralist and democratic. Dr. Zedillo said a few days ago that he will not form a pluralist government. This is tragic. These days anybody who understands the signs of the times has to present a broad range of views in the new government to be formed. This new pluralist government will be formed by the PAN candidate when he assumes the presidency. It will have more participation by the people, because only thus can we all work together to make this great effort to save Mexico from the tragedy that is so close at hand. We need to achieve change. We will surely achieve it because Mexico has a great future that cannot be lost.

[Noriega] PRD candidate Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, you have three minutes, please.

[Cardenas] I don't know how the PAN candidate can call on all Mexicans to join him and change the country when he has shown such clear contempt for so many Mexicans. I only want to recall that on more than one occasion, he called one group of Mexicans, who with reason were demanding housing because they lacked it, riffraff [descalzonados]. I don't understand a candidate who addresses his compatriots in search of votes and then talks about them in such terms.

This Sunday, the most recent one, the PRI candidate met with taxi drivers. It was a good meeting, according to the media. They offered the PRI candidate a beer, and he accepted. However, he said they had to put it in a glass so that it would look like cider. I ask you here: Does the PRI candidate want to give us beer for cider and cider for beer? Is this the offer of Dr. Zedillo, the current candidate of the official party, who has so many university degrees and so many academic merits, about which he boasts so much? Is this the type of government he wants to give the Mexicans? A government, I insist, in which he will give us cider for beer and beer for cider?

I also want to consider the people with whom the PRI candidate will govern. Who is backing him? We have seen pronouncements paid for by government officials, who say they used their own money—maybe, maybe not. But he is supported by the people responsible for past six-year periods. Let us recall the statement that journalists called the Dinosaurs Manifesto. This is what the PRI candidate offers us: a return to corruption, populist practices, and a return to those—they are the ones who support him—who are mainly responsible for the deteriorated, disastrous economic, social, and political situation in which we now live.

I end and insist, cider for beer and beer for cider, is this the PRI candidate's offer?

[Noriega] PRD candidate Ernesto Zedillo, you have three minutes.

[Zedillo] Thank you. Half truths are but half lies. It is not right to lie to the people, even if only a little bit. Lies and verbal violence will only divide Mexicans and damage our social peace. Just now, when Engineer Cardenas referred to education issues, he only said a small part of the truth, and in doing so, he told a big lie. Engineer Cardenas, the balance you have made of the current government's education effort is not true. Perhaps, your advisers, with very bad intentions, did not give you the correct information.

During the current government, spending on education, in real terms, increased 100 percent. Most of this increase was allotted to increase Mexican teachers' wages. It's true—there is still a lot to be done and this is my commitment.

You also did not tell the exact truth when you talked about the books in storage. It is true there was a contest, but in the end the panel of judges decided that those books should not be printed and they were not. There are no books on shelves, as you said. So, please, tell the whole truth.

I want to use the rest of my time in this segment, compatriots, to talk about democracy. I want to attest to you that my personal commitment, my commitment as a Mexican, is to further democracy in our fatherland. I want to assure you, compatriots, that we want more than your vote on 21 August. We want legality, credibility, and legitimacy. I am convinced that thanks to the electoral reforms made during the past years, Mexicans will have an electoral system that will totally guarantee the effectiveness of their vote. I do trust the almost 2

million Mexicans who will participate in the preparation and implementation of those elections. Out of those almost 2 million Mexicans, only a few belong to my party. Thus, let us have confidence. The next elections will be clean.

[Noriega] Now each of the candidates will deliver his final message. You will have three minutes to do this. PRD candidate Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, we will start with you now.

[Cardenas] I call on all of you, the Mexicans, to win the right to build our democracy. I will form a government with the best Mexican men and women, a government that will not just belong to the PRD, but one that will include all those who have actively participated in the democratic movement—people in private organizations; in business, banking, and commerce; and people who are now in universities—to have the pluralist government our country needs to be able to move into democracy.

I am going to call for—this is a promise, and I have to say it in the singular—I am going to initiate efforts so we can call a national referendum to reform our Constitution. We have to make ample reforms to our Constitution so we can have a constituent assembly in 1997. This body will prepare the new Constitution that is to include our aspirations and, based on this constitutional framework, find solutions to the country's needs and problems.

The next government will not be a government in which the PRD will replace the PRI. We do not want any more government parties. Thus, my party, in this case, will not be the one to replace the current government party. Let us have confidence in the vote and in the next elections, despite the conditions in which they are taking place. Let us remember that changes thought to be impossible—Mandela is president of South Africa now and the opposition has won in Panama—are today a reality. Let us have confidence in ourselves. Let us go into these elections with faith, drive, and a lot of votes. Our votes will decide the future of our country in the latter part of the 21st century.

I pledge to you that I will respect the electoral results and will make them be respected. We want independent management. We want Carlos Salinas to promise that he will not interfere in this election. We want Carlos Salinas to promise that the 21 August elections will not be the same as the 6 July elections. I have confidence in the support of my compatriots. I have confidence that, together with you, I will be forming the next government and that this government will be the one to establish and develop democracy in our country.

[Noriega] Thank you, sir. PRI candidate Ernesto Zedillo, it is your turn.

[Zedillo] Compatriots, I thank you sincerely for your attention. Messrs. candidates, I thank you for accepting this invitation. I invite you to meet and debate again. I invite you to debate, but now to include the other candidates too. As I have said from the beginning and throughout my campaign, we should have the opportunity to compare our ideas with those of all the candidates. Thus, I invite you to join me in a debate that will include all the candidates.

For my part, compatriots, I will continue my political campaign tomorrow. I will do so intensely and will continue to talk to all the Mexican men and women, especially those who have less. I will do this because I aspire to be president of the republic. And I aspire to be president of the republic, compatriots, to work with you in building the Mexico we all want. I propose, compatriots, that we work together to further an economy that will generate the jobs and wages you are demanding.

I propose that we work together on reorganizing and installing a system of justice capable of ending insecurity, violence, and aggression against our citizens. I propose, fellow Mexicans, that we launch an offensive against poverty. I propose, fellow Mexicans, that we remember the poor peasants, our Indian brothers, the elderly, and the handicapped when we wage our battle on poverty. I propose, fellow Mexicans, that we make equality for women a reality in law. I propose, fellow Mexicans, that we work together.

[Noriega] Your time is up, sir.

[Zedillo] You only gave me two minutes.

[Noriega] Very well.

[Zedillo] I apologize, the moderator made a mistake. I will take one minute to close. Excuse me.

I propose, fellow Mexicans, that we work together during the coming years to build that future of progress for our children. I ask you not to hesitate and to vote on 21 August. Go and vote with the assurance that your vote will be respected. I ask you to think of your children's future and your family's future when you cast your vote. Thank you.

[Noriega] Diego Fernandez de Cevallos, presidential candidate for the PAN.

[Fernandez] According to the rules of this debate, I cannot respond forcefully during this last speech, because Mr. Cardenas cannot answer. All I want to say, Mr. Cardenas, is that your accusation is unfair. I did not call those poor people who were demanding housing riffraff. I called the leaders who agitate them and never show their faces riffraff. Please read PROCESO and journalist (Galarza), a professional journalist, and you will find the text of what I said then and am reaffirming now. I did not call them that, and I cannot accept your accusation.

To conclude, the PAN has been struggling for democracy for 54 years. It has been struggling for 54 years so that Mexico may live in a state of law, and we are going to make it in the next administration. We have also been fighting for a more humane economy, so we can all live

with dignity, jobs, justice, and law for all, thus guaranteeing that dignified, safe, and sufficient lifestyle for all Mexican families.

In closing, I wish to say that if I have not failed you now that I am a candidate, I will not fail you as president. I need your support on 21 August, but I will need greater support from you for the six years following that, because I can only be a good president for Mexico with your help.

[Noriega] Thank you sir. We thank all the candidates for their participation in this debate. My apologies again to Mr. Zedillo. On behalf of the National Chamber of Radio and Television broadcasters, we hope this event will serve to enlighten and unify all Mexicans. Good night.

Salinas Praises Candidates' Debate

PA1505022494 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 2057 GMT 13 May 94

[Text] Veracruz, 13 May (Notimex)—President Carlos Salinas de Gortari said here today that the debate among the country's three leading political forces "is a big step forward in Mexico's democratic life." "We have experienced a genuine shift toward plurality. This shift, which is worth consolidating, is the result of electoral reforms that the country's various political forces have effected through dialogue," he said.

After closing in this Gulf of Mexico port the Second Forum on Financing and Investment Opportunities for the Southeast, Salinas said the confrontation "reveals our country's new political culture."

Presidential candidates Ernesto Zedillo of the Institutional Revolutionary Party [PRI], Cuauthemoc Cardenas of the Democratic Revolutionary Party [PRD], and Diego Fernandez of the National Action Party [PAN] presented their political platforms on Thursday night.

Of this debate, which was held in Mexico for the first time, Salinas said: "We can declare that the electoral process in Mexico is not discriminating. Quite the contrary, it is all-embracing." He added: "There is room for everyone in the country's legal framework." Salinas said the candidates spoke freely and voiced without restriction their opinions and proposals so they can be considered and assessed by the Mexican people. "From now on, everyone should obey the law and the Mexican people's electoral will," he finally said.

PRI Council Appoints New Secretary General

PA1505201094 Mexico City Radio ACIR Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 14 May 94

[From the "ACIR Radio News" newscast]

[Text] Ignacio Pichardo Pagaza has been appointed the Institutional Revolutionary Party's [PRI] secretary general by the PRI's National Political Council.

Ignacio Pichardo Pagaza was born in Toluca, Mexico State, on 13 November 1935. He is the son of Attorney Carlos Pichardo Cruz and Maria del Carmen Pagaza Varela. He is married to Julieta Lechuga, who is a voluntary social worker.

In 1953 Pichardo Pagaza enrolled in National Autonomous University of Mexico's Law School, where he earned a bachelor's degree in law and graduated in 1958 with a thesis entitled "The Judicial Basis of Economic Planning in Mexico."

He earned a bachelor's degree in industrial relations and a master's degree in administration and public finances at the London School of Economics, UK, and another master's in administration at Dartmouth College in the United States.

Regarding his political activities, which is what interests us, Pichardo Pagaza has worked as IEPES [Institute for Political, Economic, and Social Studies] coordinator. He also was a member of the PRI's CEN [Central Executive Committee] and a consultant to the CNC [National Peasant Confederation].

Pichardo Pagaza served as a federal deputy for Toluca and was president of the Programming and Public Budget Commission. He was also Government Secretariat general secretary and Finance and Public Credit Secretariat income under secretary.

As an academic, Ignacio Pichardo was a professor at the Mexico School and author of works such as "Ten Years of Planning and Public Administration" and "Our Nation's Fiscal Policy." He also published the books: "Public Administration and Urban Development" and "The Mexican State's Municipal Development Institute in Mexican Productivity and Public Administration."

Pichardo Pagazo served as ambassador to Spain until 5 April [date as heard], when he was appointed PRI CEN secretary general.

PRI Group Espouses Democratic Candidate Selection

PA1605035194 Mexico City EL FINANCIERO in Spanish 12 May 94 p 55

[Article by Salvador Rico]

[Text] Some PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party] members might join those who have already abandoned the tricolor party.

Others, "fed up with handpicked candidates [dedazos] and decisions adopted by party leaders [palomazos]," are organizing new movements to demand internal democracy.

These are two sides of the tricolor party's current reality.

After the defection of four important PRI members—Demetrio Sodi de la Tijera and Miguel Basanez in the

Federal District; Rodrigo Moreno Rodriguez in Guanajuato; and Guillermo del Rio Ortegon in Campeche—forecasts hold that other PRI members will leave their party given their disagreement with the way in which Senate candidacies were recently decided.

Regarding the increase in internal demands for democratization, PRI representatives for 12 of the capital's 40 districts yesterday announced the creation of a Citizens Liaison and Consultation Board [Coordinacion de Enlace y Consulta Ciudadana], which essentially strives for truly democratic selection of tricolor party candidates to the Chamber of Deputies.

The new group's coordinators—Oscar Hidalgo, Jose Manuel Mota Lopez, Jose Luis Guerra, and Ricardo Palacios—said "PRI members are fed up with handpicked candidates and decisions adopted by party leaders."

They warned that if there is no democratic selection of candidates for the posts of deputies and assembly members in the Federal District, the consequences will be not only the resignation of many activists but also a considerable decrease in votes for the PRI on 21 August.

They said both PRI activists and sympathizers participate in the new organization.

Jose Luis Guerra reproved the fact that candidacies are decided by the leadership, without taking into consideration the rank and file.

He protested: "Those of us who work with the rank and file are not taken into consideration. We are the ones insulted every time we knock on doors."

Leaders of the Citizens Liaison and Consultation Board, which has ties with Democracy 2000, announced they will submit a proposal to the PRI's leadership in the Federal District, whose president is Manuel Jimenez Guzman. The proposal is to cast votes to elect the candidates for the lower chamber. This would not only include the participation of party activists but also of sympathizers, because they are the ones who usually determine the victories.

They warned that the disagreement recently expressed by former Chihuahua Governor Fernando Baeza Melendez might multiply among people running for the post of Federal District deputy.

Democracy is an urgent necessity, Jose Manuel Mota Lopez insisted, adding that if the PRI leadership and Ernesto Zedillo truly want to honor Luis Donaldo Colosio Murrieta's memory, they should recall what the assassinated politician said in his 6 March speech—that PRI members do not want candidates whose active membership surprises even the tricolor party's members.

Mota Lopez said: Zedillo must fulfill his pledge to continue Colosio's political program.

He noted there are many members of the PRI who are deputies or assembly members without having earned that right, who now want to swap posts between the lower chamber and the assembly.

Many of those PRI members "have never taken a stand," Mota Lopez added during a news conference yesterday.

He explained that in addition to the risk of more defections and a considerable decrease in PRI votes on 21 August, this could result in protests at the chamber and assembly facilities in the capital.

The text of the document that formally creates the Citizens Liaison and Consultation Board begins by stating that "a transition process in Mexico's democratic culture is under way."

The document continues: "The armed rebellion in Chiapas, Luis Donaldo Colosio's death, the national stock market's ups and downs, and the increasing insecurity which prevails since Cardinal Posadas Ocampo's violent and still unsolved assassination have prompted civilian society to increase its demands for a change in the political system, above all in the way in which the next electoral process will be handled."

"Nevertheless, high-ranking groups insist on keeping the country in a state of political indecision and uncertainty, without allowing opportunity for democratic transition, which is now so urgent and necessary."

It then reasserts its immediate goal:

"The PRI should respect the statutes, declaration of principles, and partisan action program, and it should let the rank and file and the citizenry participate in the process of selecting candidates for different public posts."

Jose Manuel Mota Lopez reiterated his warning about the risk of more resignations among PRI members, commenting:

"I do not know why they are afraid of democracy."

Article Reviews Leading Parties' Platforms

PA1605151894 Mexico City EL FINANCIERO in Spanish 12 May 94 p 58

[Article by Gabriela Aguilar, Jesus Rangel, and Georgina Tristan]

[Text]

PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party]

Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de Leon, an active participant in the construction of an economic model of "social liberalism" Mexican- style, faces today the challenge of showing the television and radio audience—with politics and technocracy—how he will manage to help society through a confluence of economic and social policies.

Within the PRI 1994-2000 Electoral Platform, the economic chapter proposes strengthening an "economy of

certitude" by establishing the groundwork to expand production activities with price stability. This is the starting point to "launch an economic development strategy that efficiently and quickly meets society's demands for welfare and justice, based on responsible policies which do not threaten the essential balance of the economy."

Thus, it rejects a populist concept of the state and states that, within the processes for economic change and trade opportunities, "the state cannot renege its responsibilities" and it must maintain a framework of macroeconomic stability and guarantee opportunities for the free development of creativity and social initiative.

The state must encourage savings and investments, broaden regional infrastructure, support the modernization of small- and medium-sized enterprises, sponsor the training of manpower, pledge strict compliance with labor laws, and guarantee favorable conditions to strengthen salaries. It terms as not postponable the economy's reactivation to sponsor the prompt creation of more and better jobs, to take advantage of stronger finances to meet social needs, and to guarantee better conditions for stability in the economy.

The platform proposes a redefinition of the foundations for relations between federations, states, and municipalities for a better distribution of resources; improving the allocation of public funds; and increasing internal savings, "because a healthy growth must not excessively depend on external savings."

The platform also proposes defending the purchasing capability of salaries; improving the quality of public education for work; increasing consultation with the country's regions for an equitable development; sponsoring new plans for fiscal coordination among federations and states; and encouraging an active policy of investments in communication and transportation infrastructure.

PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution]

The PRD's economic platform mainly seeks to achieve an economic growth with equity and to create a new social pact that helps improve the population's standard of living.

To achieve the first goal, the PRD bases its position on three issues: A development policy that is answerable to the nation; a productive reorganization of the economy by sector, region, and environment—starting with an overall renewal of agrarian and livestock activities; and the creation of a legal and institutional system which guarantees the validity of economic rights and equal opportunities for Mexicans.

To achieve the aforementioned goals, the party emphasizes the development of productive national and foreign investments, and the discouragement of speculative investments, by adapting internal interest rates to internationally competitive rates.

The PRD also suggests a revision of the tax system to achieve an equitable implementation of taxes. Thus, it would reduce indirect taxes and public service fees, and it would abolish the two-percent tax on assets.

Cuauhtemoc Cardenas will propose during the televised debate the ideas of gradually eliminating the oil revenues tax; increasing social expenses; sponsoring a recovery and expansion of the internal market and production enterprises; seeking a definite renegotiation of the foreign debt; and regulating economic relations abroad.

In the foreign economy sector, the PRD proposes a renegotiation of the Free Trade Agreement which includes the issue of manpower mobility, the exclusion of basic grains from the agreement, the revision of rules of origin which affect the automobile and spare parts industry, and a balance in the level of subsidies to agrarian and livestock products, among others.

The PRD suggests revoking the unconstitutional reforms to Article 27 and the exercise of the Mexican nation's full authority on its oil resources.

Referring to the new social pact, [the PRD] seeks to reform the Federal Labor Law and abolish Section B of Article 123, among other measures.

The PRD proposes the reinstatement of a minimum salary, with an emphasis on the increase in employment and productivity, and it suggests that the National Congress determine the basis for this.

In its political platform, the National Action Party [PAN] proposes to reduce poverty, strive for balanced regional development, create jobs, protect the freedom to create unions, abrogate the taxes-on-assets law, stimulate industrial development, break up the railroad enterprise, speed up the financial opening, back up exports, legally protect foreign investment, establish an agricultural and livestock model for the 21st century, and encourage the private sector's participation in all areas of the economy.

PAN proposes constitutional changes to restore the economy with the people in mind, changes like amending Article 25 to establish clearly the state's subsidiary role. The party pledges to reduce the serious poverty of some 14 million Mexicans through social education programs such as responsible parenthood, hygiene, nutrition, fighting alcohol and drug addiction, care of mothers and children, and allocating monetary resources for the general development of Indian communities.

Also, the party proposes to abolish Paragraph B of Article 123 of the Constitution so all workers can share the same rights; eliminate unnecessary fiscal burdens, such as taxes on assets and payrolls; increase contributions for SAR [Retirement Savings System].

PAN proposes to recognize the government workers' right to form associations and join more than one union;

restore women's labor rights to be hired and paid their salaries without discrimination.

The party proposes to launch a countrywide industrial and commercial development program of property and services where very small-, small-, and medium-sized enterprises would be given priority attention.

Finally, PAN proposes to open the railroads to local and foreign investment, separating them from the public sector, and increasing the private sector's participation in infrastructure.

Former PGR Adviser: Mexico Lives 'Narcodemocracy'

PA1505143894 Mexico City REFORMA in Spanish 11 May 94 p 1a

[By Juan Jose Coello]

[Text] Mexico is living a narcodemocracy and narcotraffickers have achieved socioeconomic influence, Eduardo Valle Espinoza, former adviser to the Attorney General's office [PGR] of Diego Valades and Jorge Carpizo, has stated. Valle, who resigned on 1 May, stated the foregoing in his resignation letter.

"After learning of the above, I ask: When will we have the courage and political maturity to tell the Mexican people we are living in a narcodemocracy? Will we have the intellectual capability and ethical strength to say that Amado Carrillo, Arellano Felix, and Juan Garcia Abrego are, inconceivably and degradingly, the promoters and even pillars of our socioeconomic growth and development?"

In his resignation letter, the official briefly explained the narcotrafficking problem in Mexico and he recognized his failure to dismantle the Matamoros Cartel led by Juan Garcia Abrego. This was a task which had been assigned to him by Valades.

"I recognize that I did not have the capability to apprehend the public leader of the Gulf of Mexico Cartel. I truthfully did all that I could within my means. I failed and regrettably admit it," the former PGR adviser stated.

His resignation had been kept silent for unexplained reasons.

"I am leaving as I entered. I have no money, but I have gained knowledge and experience. Nobody can say I harmed anyone without a true juridical basis. I can look anyone in the face and feel no shame," he stated in his letter.

Valle Espinoza also questioned the programs and plans to fight narcotrafficking and raised the possibility that the assassination of Luis Donaldo Colosio may have been drug-related.

"Nobody can conceive of a political project in which the narcotrafficking lords and financiers are not included, because if he does so he is dead. Perhaps evidence of that will be found in relation to the 23 March incident in Tijuana. Although, I warn, I don't have any more information about that infamous act than that which is publicly known."

In the last part of his letter, Valle Espinoza thanked Carpizo and the president for their trust, which he claims he never failed. Valle Espinoza was appointed to his post in early 1993.

Valle Espinoza began to hunt down Garcia Abrego with the support of 30 agents, all heavily armed and recruited by himself. He was also provided with communications equipment, vehicles, two helicopters, an aircraft, and a big budget.

According to official investigations, the Gulf Cartel, known previously as the Matamoros Cartel, has $10 billion in resources, heavy political and police influence, and an "Army" of more than 500 men. The PGR is investigating since last week the transfer of Garcia Abrego and his principal deputies.

Valle's actions resulted in the arrests of 10 drug traffickers and the confiscation of at least 50 properties in various states of the republic.

PGR Describes Nuevo Leon as Money Laundering Capital

PA1405164294 Monterrey EL NORTE (Foreign Edition) in Spanish 6 May 94 p 1b

[By Juan Jose Coello]

[Text] The PGR [Attorney General's Office] described Nuevo Leon as a narcodollar laundering capital after discovering that about 70 alleged businessmen have approximately $4 billion invested in area industries and businesses.

A high-ranking PGR official disclosed that an investigation of money laundering in Nuevo Leon began by presidential order in 1991 and has not concluded.

"We have fully identified about 70 businessmen who live in Monterrey and have investments in Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas," the official said.

"Each drug trafficker we investigated led us to other people involved. What were believed to be simple covers turned out to be part of a gigantic money laundering network of international proportions" the interviewed officer said.

All of those involved are directly connected with the Matamorros Jail, and their leader is Juan Garcia Abrego, the officer added.

The mafia's money, he said, is invested primarily in 15 types of industries and businesses.

"There are narcobusinessmen in construction, telecommunications, automobile dealerships, real estate, and medium-sized export and foundry companies," he said.

He added: "There is also some involvement in art agencies, travel agencies, transportation, buildings, finance companies, the media, electronics purchases and sales, cattle ranching, investments, and air cargo."

The PGR official said there are specific cases where only a few of the partners in a consortium have committed the crime, not every business partner.

The results of the huge investigation, he added, have just now been made public, and he guessed that this is only the beginning of a long chain of arrests and searches.

"These investigations have been the most complicated the PGR has had to face during this six-year term," the source said.

Some of the businessmen involved in narcodollar money laundering have left a trail and been identified, and there is evidence against them.

"These are people from middle-class families who are suddenly millionaires overnight. They make their first appearance in society as owners of gigantic businesses," he said.

According to the high-ranking official, the businessmen involved in money laundering are known to everyone. They appear in newspapers, create publicity for themselves, and enjoy much prestige.

"They obey all laws, pay taxes, keep their bank accounts in good order, request loans pretending to have financial problems, and even go to church," he said.

"They keep everything in order except their business money comes from drug trafficking," the official said.

New Antiterrorist Group Formed

PA1605134994 Mexico City REFORMA in Spanish 8 May 94 p 1A

[Report by Gerardo Roman]

[Text] In the middle of the guerrilla crisis caused by the Zapatist National Liberation Army [EZLN] in Chiapas, the National Security and Investigation Center requested that various military and police corps create an Antiterrorist Group [Grupo Antiterrorista—GAT] with agent selection to be based on a criteria of high levels of training and skills.

Among the institutions that were asked to cooperate are the Federal Judicial Police, the "Foxes" [Zorros] squadron of the Secretariat of Roads and Safety, the Army, the presidential staff, and the Federal District's Judicial Police.

According to statements by several GAT members and sources close to institutions involved, approximately 300 specialized agents were trained by instructors from the United States, Spain, and Argentina.

Police sources reported the objective of GAT was to create an organization to end terrorism, kidnappings, and prolonged guerrilla violence such as bomb explosions in various cities of the country.

GAT members took courses on explosives, explosives investigations, assaults on installations, intelligence, and photography. They received training to infiltrate organizations such as the Independent Proletariat Movement, the Revolutionary Workers Party, the Peasant-People Union Movement, and the EZLN.

Approximately 15 days ago, the agents were summoned to the National Security Center to launch an antiterrorist operation and, according to sources, they would be deployed in groups in the States of Guerrero, Michoacan, Oaxaca, Jalisco, Chiapas, and the Federal District and its contiguous urban areas.

El Salvador

Cristiani Will Not Recognize New Haitian Government

PA1605224494 San Salvador DIARIO LATINO in Spanish 12 May 94 p 1

[Text] President Alfredo Cristiani said today that he does not recognize the government installed in Haiti by a group of legislators supported by the Army of that country. He said this move is only a measure to ease international pressure applied mainly by the United Nations and the OAS on the Republic of Haiti, but these appointments do not reflect the people's will.

Yesterday, a group of legislators supported by the Army swore in a new president in Haiti, and according to international reports, this is a measure to complete the toppling of constitutional President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who has been in exile since 1991. The new president is Emile Jonassaint, 80, a former magistrate of the Haitian Supreme Court, but international news dispatches indicate that his government lacks the support of the international community and of most Haitian legislators.

During a news conference Cristiani also commented on the progress in peace agreements compliance only days before he concludes his term. He said that the only agreement that will be left pending pertains to public security, because, as he has stated before, the government thinks that it is necessary to prolong the transition from the National Police [PN] to the National Civilian Police (PNC) as a result of the increased crime rate in the country. Cristiani had said that the dismantling of the PN could last another six months until the PNC gets enough members to fight crime.

We think that it would be a serious mistake to leave the country with 5,700 agents and conclude the dissolution of the PN," the president said. [no opening quotation marks as published] He proposed that "the PN continue operating, and of course, also reduce its size while the Public Security Academy supplies the PNC with agents." Cristiani said that public safety is still a priority, and thus, the next government will continue to support efforts in this area and to support the Public Security Academy, which is tasked with training the agents of the new security corps.

As for the reports of kidnappings, the president reaffirmed that the government is tackling this problem by deploying PNC agents to Santa Ana. He added that these are not "groups of organized kidnappers that we have seen in the past but criminal groups that will not be difficult to bring to justice. We hope to be able to neutralize this wave of extortions in Santa Ana in the short run."

President Cristiani today inaugurated the Second International Environmental Conference in San Salvador.

Cited on Trade Negotiations With Mexico

PA1705024194 San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 14 May 94 p 5

[Text] President Alfredo Cristiani confirmed yesterday that the negotiations for a free trade agreement between Mexico and three Central American countries—Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador—have gained "great momentum," particularly in our nation.

The president said the treaty negotiations with Mexico are going well: "I believe that the negotiations have advanced considerably." Cristiani stressed that negotiations for the trade agreement are not being carried out bilaterally between El Salvador and Mexico, but also include Guatemala and Honduras. "There is willingness by the Guatemalan, Honduran, and Salvadoran Governments to establish the mechanisms to conclude the treaty with Mexico as soon as possible," he said.

The Salvadoran president explained that the free trade agreement (FTA) with Mexico is on course, and that proof of this is the creation of 12 work groups to give simultaneous consideration to different FTA issues. In addition, President-elect Armando Calderon Sol announced on Thursday that the agreement with Mexico would be signed at year's end, a statement that prompted reactions from the country's business sector.

For businessman Pablo Tesak, the date given for implementation of the FTA is "impossible" to meet because Salvadoran private enterprise must modernize "a lot" to be able to compete with Mexican industry.

Regarding this issue, President Cristiani said there is no problem in complying with the date set for the signing of the trade agreements: "perhaps the difficulty lies in the Salvadoran businessmen's participation." According to president Cristiani the businessmen's participation is fundamental to the efficient operation of a trade agreement of this nature, "because the businessmen will provide the dynamics needed for the proper development and operation of the trade agreement." The president said the role of the government is to create the operational framework to set up the economic agreement, the rest is up to the nation's productive sector.

Meanwhile, the Corporation of Exporters of El Salvador (Coexport) points out in a communique that the conversations on the possible signing of a trade agreement between Mexico and Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador, "should not be conducted in haste." Coexport asks the government to be "cautious" during negotiations for a new trade agreement with Mexico, because the latter has experience in this area as a result of NAFTA.

President-Elect Calderon Sol on Mexico Visit

PA1705042594 San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 13 May 94 p 3

[Text] President-elect Armando Calderon Sol, upon his return yesterday from Mexico City, confirmed that the government will sign a free trade agreement with Mexico before the end of the year.

Calderon Sol, who will assume the presidency on 1 June, said that "if negotiations continue at their current rate," the treaty could be signed before the end of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari's term, set for 1 December.

The president-elect met with several ministers and local business representatives during his visit to Mexico. The purpose was to measure the degree of interest in investments in El Salvador. He said this was only possible "thanks to the stability of the democratic system and the peace process, which have given the county prestige."

In statements to the Mexican press, Calderon Sol expressed his willingness to establish a common market, since this would open operations to 120 million consumers, 30 million of which are in the Central American isthmus.

If no agreement is signed during President Salinas de Gortari's mandate, talks would continue with the new president to be elected on 21 August. The new Salvadoran president said that signing a free trade agreement with Mexico would be the first step toward reaching a similar agreement with the United States.

On 23 May Calderon Sol will fly to Washington to meet Vice President Al Gore, who will host a summit meeting several days later to discuss NAFTA with all of the Central American presidents. In commenting on his scheduled trip to UN headquarters in New York, the president-elect said he had "no concerns at all about addressing any topic with the secretary general." He was referring to statements made by Chief Justice Mauricio Gutierrez Castro, of the Supreme Court of Justice, during the opening session of the Legislative Assembly.

He explained the purpose of his trip was to express the political will to fully comply with the peace agreements and to request aid from the United Nations, through agencies such as UNICEF, FAO, and the WHO. He said that, belonging to this international forum, El Salvador has a right to the programs these agencies offer. Therefore, it can request such aid "with dignity and authority."

Nicaragua

Daniel Ortega on Political Alliances

PA1405021894 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 9 May 94 pp 1,5

[Interview with Daniel Ortega, general secretary of the Nicaraguan Sandinist National Liberation Front, by Noel Irias; place and date not given; first three paragraphs are introduction by Irias]

[Text] FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] Secretary General Daniel Ortega has announced that his party will promote a broad policy of alliances, including the Higher Council of Private Enterprise [COSEP], to work on a nationwide program that will go beyond electoral periods and party interests.

The Sandinist leader said that he favors the existence of several candidates for the post of FSLN secretary general but emphasized the need to protect the methods and mechanisms to protect party unity.

Ortega also called for a change in mentality within the FSLN 'o promote more initiatives within the rank-and-file organizations.

[Irias] Why did you announce that you were giving up a possible presidential candidacy in 1996?

[Ortega] I can understand why people are so skeptical but I have maintained that I did not enter the FSLN to hold a post in the FSLN or in the government. I did not join the FSLN to become president. In this stage of much discussion, some people have been spreading the notion that I covet the presidency again. I think this should be clarified. To me, this is an ethical and moral issue. I do not desire to be president. I have said this before and I reiterate it now. This is the true reason, more so than national considerations. In addition, to speak of running as a candidate is premature. Yes, I think the 1996 program should be of national unity. It is the only thing that can save the country, regardless of whether or not there are very polarized forces in the country.

[Irias] What do you think should be the mechanism used to select the FSLN's presidential candidate?

[Ortega] The most important consideration should be the program, which must be debated and approved democratically. The program must be discussed with mass participation. This is even more important than the mass participation in the election of the candidates themselves. The people will vote for a program. The decision for a candidate is a very important complementary issue. The candidate will have to be selected according to the political circumstances. It will be necessary to decide whether or not the FSLN will run by itself or as part of an alliance. After the congress, the Sandinist Assembly will meet to stimulate a broad policy of alliances by inviting meetings with different sectors, including COSEP, workers, producers, and businessmen to draft a countrywide plan or program that goes beyond electoral campaigns and party interests. We will later consider the formula, who will head this proposal, who will hold posts in the National Assembly or municipal governments.

[Irias] Would you agree that FSLN candidates be selected in the departments?

[Ortega] I agree completely. The candidates should be selected in a process headed by the Sandinists but which should involve the largest possible number of followers and friends, so our candidates can have or win the support of the majority of the population.

[Irias] What about consulting with the rank and file regarding the FSLN candidates?

[Ortega] The ideal thing would be for the formula to emerge from intuition and political savvy. But this would be insufficient if the rank and file are not consulted. This is very important to consolidate the candidacy. A mechanism such as the one used in Costa Rica, based on primaries, was considered when the party statutes were debated, but it was ruled out for material reasons. Anyway, the candidate must be consulted with the rank and file.

[Irias] Why do you regard as risky the existence of other candidacies, Henry Ruiz in this instance, for the post of secretary general?

[Ortega] This is by itself a healthy principle. It is a way such candidacies can be established, which requires careful attention. If these candidacies lead to confrontations or maneuvers typical of traditional parties, this is not healthy because it conspires against unity. It is like prodding others to fight, like sowing discord. The FSLN statutes establish the right of active members to run as candidates. Therefore, there can be several candidates for secretary general. The important thing is that this electoral process take place in a friendly and constructive manner, protecting the Sandinist unity.

[Irias] Would you back Commander Tomas Borge's candidacy if he ran for FSLN president?

[Ortega] We have broached this topic on previous occasions. In the First Congress we analyzed whether the post of FSLN president, such as in other parties, was convenient or not. I believe Commander Borge's qualities, a historic FSLN cadre, an FSLN founder, an anti-Somozist, and an anti-imperialist who spent time in jail after Somoza—and Carlos Fonseca campaigned for his release—give him unquestionable merits and if he were FSLN president he would enhance Sandinism.

[Irias] Would you back that candidacy?

[Ortega] Yes.

Differences in the Opposition

[Irias] How do you perceive the concept of self-defense?

[Ortega] The things that happen in Nicaragua are not common in other parts of the world, such as our 216 comrades who were murdered in Jinotega. When a government or appropriate authority does not have the capacity to protect its citizens, the population not only has a right, but has a duty to create the self-defense mechanisms to survive.

[Irias] Any other social group could use this argument to arm themselves. How would you resolve this situation?

[Ortega] The ideal situation is not that every person should seek a self-defense mechanism. We cannot encourage that. We have to exert pressure on the government to ensure that the appropriate institutions maintain citizens' order and security. We cannot encourage self-defense, but we cannot condemn it in the cases such as I mentioned.

[Irias] What are the in-depth differences in this FSLN internal debate?

[Ortega] The in-depth differences have to do with the contradictions in Nicaraguan society, which are then blamed on Sandinism. This causes a break-up with smaller groups each going their own way.

That is why the main theme in this congress has to do with the interpretation all Sandinists have to make on the concept of opposition. This is a key issue—to agree among us how to face government policies—this has to do with methods of struggle and each sector will struggle the best it can.

We are obliged to stir awareness so as to ensure that people defend their own interests.

[Irias] Is the FSLN secretary general not concerned that the constitutional order, the legality that your government created, may be adversely affected at some time by groups making claims?

[Ortega] We have to defend the institutions, the legal state, it is a principle. This is so governments do not create policies that generate greater tension and serve as a culture medium for violence. The original sin is government policies.

Forefront Party?

[Irias] The FSLN has enormous political power and institutional power quotas, and can use them to influence the government to reduce institutional violence. Will the FSLN wield this political influence quota on the other aspect of the problem?

[Ortega] If the FSLN had used its influence in a coherent and coordinated manner we could have avoided a series of events that the government has caused.

The government feels safe with what it can do because the FSLN is unwilling to make true opposition. If we leap in that direction the outcome will be favorable for the country because it is a way to avoid violent behavior.

Provided the FSLN defends the institutions and policies in favor of the people, conditions will be right for the people to trust these mechanisms and not be forced, in desperation, to seek violence.

[Irias] Do you hope to rebuild the FSLN as a vanguard party?

[Ortega] It seems to me that the term vanguard made sense when we fought Somoza, when the FSLN was clearly a vanguard, a very small political-military detachment that was at the forefront in the struggle against the dictatorship.

Afterward, when in government, the FSLN became the party of the masses. We need a revolutionary party that is organized in accordance with how we currently live.

The most important thing after the congress is the FSLN opening and a deep change in our mentality and in ways we organize and communicate with the people. We need to break away from the concept of directorate organizations that dictate lines of work. We need to be agents of change to encourage decisionmaking among grass root organizations. We need to ensure that leaders possess proposals made by the rank and file.

[Irias] Would you eventually back General Humberto Ortega's candidacy in 1996?

[Ortega] It is too early to speak of candidacies. It seems risky to speak hypothetically. I have to be very careful because it could be assumed that I am backing certain candidacies.

Ortega on Possible Alliances

PA1505033794 Managua Canal Cuatro Television in Spanish 0400 GMT 12 May 94

[Report by Daisy Torres from the "Extravision" Newscast]

[Text] On the morning of 11 May at Radio Ya studios, former President Daniel Ortega answered journalists' questions. During his visit to Radio Ya today, Daniel Ortega explained that he hasn't resigned the presidential candidacy because the FSLN has not nominated him yet. He said he never had any aspirations for any post.

[Begin Ortega recording] The FSLN has not nominated me. Had the FSLN said: our candidate is Daniel Ortega or any other person, then I could have resigned. However, I have not resigned. I simply said what my revolutionary behavior should be. I have no aspirations for any post. [end recording]

The FSLN secretary general would not discount the possibility that the FSLN would strike an alliance with another party, except possibly with Mayor Arnoldo Aleman's PLC [Liberal Constitutionalist Party], because it is a Somocist stronghold.

[Begin Ortega recording] The main thing is to remain receptive to a policy of alliances. We must also find the right time to strike an alliance. I believe alliances are a necessity in forming a government of national unity. I think it is paramount in promoting [words indistinct], because it is the only thing that can give this country stability, hope, and a future. [end recording]

He also talked about the need for a government of national unity condensed in a program that will listen to people's hopes for solutions to socioeconomic problems.

[Begin Ortega recording] I believe forging an alliance with several socioeconomic sectors is essential because these organized sectors—namely unions, workers, and producers—are strong. Producers are organized under UNAG [National Union of Farmers and Cattlemen] and Cosep [Higher Council of Private Enterprise]. Workers are organized under the CPT [Permanent Workers Congress] and other organizations like the Nicaraguan Workers Federation. Thus, there is a large number of organized producers and workers interested in the stability of the country and aware of the need for consensus. I believe this consensus must and can be reached through a program for national unity. [end recording]

To allegations from a Sandinist faction that is accusing him of resorting to violent methods, the former president replied:

[Begin Ortega recording] The FSLN cannot be divided into violence and nonviolence because the FSLN is a political organization that makes decisions binding all party members. We are not a group of people where everyone makes his own decisions; we are a political force that must have a unified position. [end recording]

FSLN Treasurer Ruiz on Party Unity for 1996 Election

PA1405033994 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 9 May 94 pp 1, 5

[Text] Leon—Henry Ruiz, a member of the national directorate of the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN], said yesterday that his party must "move away from internal struggles" and immediately begin working on winning the 1996 election, including the process to select a candidate. Time is working against the party's electoral prospects.

Ruiz said that "the idea of selecting a presidential candidate at this time is premature. In my view, however, those who believe we should make that selection in 1995 are also mistaken." Ruiz spoke before 180 Sandinists during a party meeting in Leon.

Ruiz, who has been mentioned as a candidate for FSLN general secretary, said: "If my becoming a candidate will serve to unite the party, then I will accept. I cannot agree to say, however, that having two or more candidates would affect FSLN unity."

The FSLN treasurer expressed concern over the fact that "we are spending time on this discussion, while our political contender is quickly gaining strength." He stressed that "losing again in 1996 would mean the end of Sandinism as we know it." The Sandinist leader said: "There is no time to organize another congress." We must begin the task of organizing from the ground up, so as to inspire the popular support we will need in 1996.

The meeting was led by Leon Mayor Luis Felipe Perez, Deputy Doris Tijerino, and Fanor Herrera, the FSLN political secretary in Leon.

To start selecting a presidential candidate in 1995 "would drag us into an internal debate. The Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility [ESAF] is already in motion, and I doubt the Congress will go back on the decision it took at its last meeting to disapprove the plan," Ruiz explained. He continued by saying: "That decision, however, does not say how to counter those economic and political formulas. We must move on to the next task: What national plan should the FSLN work on and develop for what comes after the elections?"

Ruiz affirmed that it is necessary to begin the process of selecting teams and people, comparing them, and seeking new alliances with the people who are bound to approach us in search of specific posts and responsibilities with the new government.

In his analysis, he stressed the need for the party to act openly. "If we are late in doing so, we will end up in an image game with our own militants. The first thing they will say is that we have just finished a congress during which we decided to act one way and that now we are rearranging things. We need clarity."

In addressing congressional sovereignty, he said that "the delegates will have the responsibility of reviewing the benefits of FSLN party modernization or renewal, considering the historic responsibility of dividing or uniting the party, and, before the people, deciding on rising to power within a short time."

According to Ruiz, the FSLN must aspire to a power "not of minorities but of majorities, and, thus, it must have national consensus. That is why a national proposal is needed." He cited the example of agriculture, saying that there is no Sandinist proposal on the topic. Ruiz called upon the Sandinists to "heal the injuries and erase the memories of the war in order to be able to build a new nation." To open the doors of the FSLN to all the politicians in the rural sectors is, in his opinion, "the modernization and renewal of the FSLN."

Ruiz called for "finding politically feasible solutions that will strengthen the cohesion and unity of Sandinism." "If the discussion is insufficient, if we are unable to solve all the issues through this means, and if we only have the political solution to preserve unity during the next two years in order to tackle the 1996 elections, it would be a pity not to accept it. It would be necessary to accept it because, if not, we face fragmentation and the prospect of not achieving power," Ruiz stated.

According to the FSLN treasurer, the party's internal debate process "is showing that several issues that we initially thought would weaken us—such as opening the doors of Sandinism—have [not] been so contentious." Ruiz considered the possibility "that this process could, perhaps, end up in a political discussion rather than an ideological debate." He added that, in his opinion, the political solution should be implemented prior to the congress "without confabulations, unprincipled conciliations, or artificial commitments."

Ruiz To Run for FSLN Secretary General

PA1505180694 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 14 May 94 pp 1, 6

[Report by Noel Irias]

[Text] Henry Ruiz, member of the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN], yesterday agreed to run for the position of Secretary General of the FSLN. He said he is willing "to work for the FSLN's cohesion, to work with his best fellow party members as a team to encourage the rank and file, and to create a group that can lead us and the people to office." This would be the first time in the FSLN's history that the organization's top leader is elected by a secret and direct vote from among several candidates.

In an extensive public letter, Ruiz said he decided to run for several reasons, including that "there is excessive polarization of opinion" in the FSLN and unity is needed for an essential renovation "to determine the new strategy to take office."

Ruiz, who for the first time was publicly proposed as candidate by Doris Tijerino, an experienced FSLN member, had said he would consider whether or not his candidacy contributes to the party's unity. He did not accept the candidacy explicitly, however.

In addition, Ruiz said: "Most of my fellow National Sandinist Directorate members favor a particular trend, an action that impairs their fairness in the debate and their objectiveness in political communication." He also argued: "The new office-taking strategy requires people's consensus to be on our side. The strategy demands a new political approach."

"The 1996 victory implies restoring the lost confidence in the people. This restoration starts right at our homes," he said in his letter. He added: "Our people's democratic process demands changes in Sandinism's traditional perception."

I Have No Personal Ambitions

The current FSLN treasurer also said: "The truth is that I do not covet power. Such ambitions, even if they are legitimate, frequently prevent people from assessing the scenario in its true perspective."

Over the weekend, Daniel Ortega, current FSLN secretary general, said the fact that several members run for the position could cause division in the party. In his letter, Ruiz disagreed with this view: "Such a remark runs against the variables that encompass the FSLN's modernization."

In addition to expressing his reasons for agreeing to run, Ruiz assessed the FSLN's situation. Among other things,

Ruiz said that division in the FSLN could be caused, not by a measured debate, but by "intolerance, inflexibility, fanaticism, the use of pejorative terms, the negation of criticism as a method of investigation, and bias as a tool to bend wills."

"Sandinism's present problem is not whether or not leftists, centrists, or rightists coexist in the FSLN, or whether we are right on course or have strayed from ideological parameters," he said.

According to Ruiz, the challenge the FSLN must meet is this: "To uphold principles and to enforce practical ways to heal the wounds that war left on our people. To undertake, with all the forces of the country, the lofty task of raising society's material foundation to improve people's standard of living." He also said that his problem has been "to be member of a party that had a consistent political position in the past but that no longer has this position."

Only One Way Out: Victory

"Sandinism requires a clear-cut strategy at present. Today's strategy is defined by the popular consensus as established through the direct and secret vote at the ballot boxes," Ruiz said. Therefore, "1996 is decisive for the future of Sandinism. If we win, Sandinism will survive. There is no dilemma, only one way out: Victory."

Ruiz sternly warned his fellow party members: "There is no time to choose a course according to political inclinations. The Sandinists of today are in the presence of the Sphinx' enigma: Either we succeed or we are sentenced to oblivion." About the leadership crisis in his party, Ruiz said: "The current leadership is in crisis. Today's National Directorate is not different from the one we knew, from the one I knew. It is not the one that the lowliest people conceived and became familiar with. We are surrounded by facts and fantasy."

Ruiz' candidacy has been supported, by among others, deputy Doris Tijerino, Col Javier Pichardo, retired, and Luis Enrique Figueroa, FSLN political secretary in Chontales department.

FSLN Presidential Candidate Discussed

94CA0103B Managua EL SEMANARIO in Spanish 17-23 Mar 94 pp 14, 15

[Interview with FSLN member Julio Lopez Campos by Walter Lacayo Guerra; place and date not given; first paragraph is EL SEMANARIO introduction]

[Text] Though Julio Lopez Campos says he does not belong to an internal Sandinist Front faction, it is inevitable that many of his party comrades identify him as one of the "ideologues of the orthodox faction or Pikin group," as the Sandinist Democratic Left Discussion Forum is called. In July 1993 his signature appeared on that famous "Document of the 29," which called upon the Sandinist party leadership to take a clear position opposing Violeta de Chamorro's government. Six months later, in January 1994, he attended a meeting of about 50 members of the Pikin Guerrero Union School, which some members of the National Directorate also attended. Here the Discussion Forum or faction to which he belongs was formed. Julio Lopez Campos has agreed to answer our questions.

[Lacayo Guerra] You are one of the promoters of a faction called *Sandinist Left*. What does that mean? Is not the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] itself a party of the left, entirely composed of people on the left?

[Lopez Campos] First of all, we are not a Sandinist Front faction. If you check the public statements of the Democratic Left Discussion Forum, we have never claimed to be a faction. As the name clearly indicates, we are a discussion forum, that is, a large group of Sandinist comrades who are promoting democratic debate within the FSLN structures.

[Lacayo Guerra] What do you mean by faction?

[Lopez Campos] Faction? The only faction here is the one led by our comrades Sergio Ramirez and Luis Carrion, with an alternative proposal for the FSLN, developed with the clear intention of offering an alternative and renovating proposal for Sandinism. That is a faction. The Democratic Left Discussion Forum is not a faction; it only promotes debate among comrades. On the other part of your question, we believe Sandinism is revolutionary; historically, the FSLN has been the vanguard in this country, it has been the greatest expression of the Nicaraguan left. But that fact should not automatically lead to the conclusion that all Sandinists are necessarily on the left, and that we all hold revolutionary positions. Within Sandinism there have appeared some comrades who claim to be centrists. That is part of the present situation in the FSLN.

[Lacayo Guerra] The Sandinist Front is an electoral party and the 1996 elections are—as the saying goes—just around the corner. In your opinion, what should the FSLN do to win back the majority it has lost?

[Lopez Campos] The FSLN must evaluate its history and the 1990 election results objectively and fairly, so it can have its feet firmly planted on the ground to handle the work it must do. That, I believe, is where some of our problems stem, for the record of what the Sandinist Front has done is not being considered carefully and equitably in terms of the 1990 election defeat. There are some very prejudiced views; people want to continue seeing us as an exclusive Sandinist Front. During the war the FSLN did have to take specific steps to promote extreme cohesiveness on the part of its forces, which generated the image of an exclusive internal party, but if we look at the party structures now, we will find that in the party's operational areas there are absolutely no exclusive or authoritarian attitudes. Just the opposite is true. I believe it is important to portray the FSLN

accurately, and that is the first step in being able to position ourselves correctly to do our jobs. In this context, access to the government is not going to come about through arms, but elections.

[Lacayo Guerra] The party program is one basic element for a party to win elections, but so is its presidential candidate. How do you think the FSLN should select its candidate?

[Lopez Campos] I am absolutely convinced that the FSLN has to return to office by electoral means, and so it must reaffirm its historic mission. In a country in which 80 percent of the population has an income of less than $200 a month, obviously the most suitable program for Sandinism must be based on the needs and interests of these large masses of campesinos, young people, women, the unemployed, and the workers. A party that wants to obtain the support of the masses must necessarily have a popular mission; if it does not, it cannot claim to lead the struggles and represent the interests of the masses. I do not see how it could bring to the next elections the forces needed to get the results we have to obtain. Sandinism arose with the aim of creating profound transformations in Nicaraguan society. In this phase it was through the vote, but Sandinism has not restricted, nor can it restrict its political work within formal institutional confines. These struggles cannot be limited solely to the four established branches of government, even though there may be some comrades who believe that is possible. What can be done about the arbitrary evictions ordered by the courts? The FSLN has to organize to defend the interests of all those families. We have no other alternative, even though that may mean clashing with the forces of law. What can be done in the rural areas of Matagalpa and Jinotega where the lives of our Sandinist comrades have been threatened? I am one of the militants who say that in that area the FSLN must take the lead to protect the lives of our Sandinist comrades who have been threatened. This places us at odds with the strictly legal order, but that is not important to me. What matters most to me is the lives of the Sandinists in that area.

[Lacayo Guerra] Let us get back to the question. What mechanism should be used to select the FSLN's presidential candidate?

[Lopez Campos] In the Discussion Forum, we act in the context of what was decided by the Sandinist Front. That is why I insist that we are not a faction. In the FSLN, selecting the candidate for 1996 is not on the agenda. That is not the reason for convening the Extraordinary Congress. This congress is being convened to discuss the program and the statutes. Absolutely nothing is planned about candidacies. We believe it is too early to introduce the issue of candidacies when we have still not resolved the problem of our new identity. In my opinion, Sergio (Ramirez) made an extremely grave political mistake when at the end of last year he and his comrades decided to give an electoral emphasis to what they had been doing, by introducing the dynamics of the presidential candidacy. In fact, that faction was working inside the FSLN and to some extent, the Discussion Forum arose as a reaction to that faction that had been active without publicly acknowledging its existence. They could have continued to promote the policy they wanted. All that was healthy and positive. That is no crime, there is no problem with that. But when they decided to combine their political work and start to identify an election slate, including possible deputies—because they had talked of candidacies, and some were talking about "possible positions" in the future government—then we said: those comrades are making a very serious mistake. In saying this, I am not censuring the legitimate right that any comrade has, and some have more than others. In my opinion, Sergio has every right to aspire to be a candidate for president of the Republic, but I do feel it was a political mistake to have started to work with a view toward candidacies for 1996, when what is on Sandinism's agenda now is solving its internal problems and developing its program, its statutes, and its new identity. So my answer is that it is too soon to talk about candidacies.

[Lacayo Guerra] Sincerely, you have never thought about who might be the right candidate for the Sandinist Front?

[Lopez Campos] Yes, I have thought about that...one difference between an electoral and a revolutionary party is that revolutionaries organize to fight in an ongoing manner. Their ultimate objective is the election, and in the meantime, they face struggles every day. Only a combative front that goes to the neighborhoods, to the streets, to the fields, and to the mountains can help us to win back the masses of the people. Later, we will work out the election issue more easily. I think a slate that weakens the front, that splits it, would not be viable. I would not even reject a candidate who might not be in our party; we might form an alliance for the elections. The candidate could also be someone from the front who is not a part of its leadership structures, someone like Mariano Fiallos, who is not a leader of Sandinism, but who has great prestige and authority. There is a full array of possibilities. It is typical of electoral political processes that when you want to get rid of someone, you toss his hat into the ring early, and he will be sure to burn out. In my opinion, that is another mistake Sergio made. He began his own process of self-destruction. His latest positions are creating friction and a lack of consensus in the Sandinist Front, and that affects him as a leader.

[Lacayo Guerra] Moving on to the Atlantic Coast election results. Could you comment on that?

[Lopez Campos] In all honesty, I am waiting to hear the evaluation made by our Atlantic Coast comrades. Sometimes we in the Pacific area are very arrogant, and the truth is that the Atlantic Coast is a very special situation. There they have what does not exist in the Pacific, and the decisive factor is the ethnic problem. The truth of the matter is that we Sandinists in general do not know that situation very well. So the first thing we have to see is

how the people from the coast view the situation, and see how we feel about their evaluation. And, since I am speaking to EL SEMANARIO, I want to say that Sergio made an overhasty evaluation of the Atlantic Coast results without first knowing the official views of the comrades. I am sure support for the Atlantic Coast elections has not become a priority issue in either the leadership of the front or the Sandinist Assembly. I would rather wait for their evaluation before expressing an opinion.

[Lacayo Guerra] In general, what is your opinion of the debate among Sandinists, and the strong dissent that offends some party members?

[Lopez Campos] Well...we have to be open to an intense debate, and the debate among Sandinists about the nature of the matters we have to discuss must be a firm, impassioned debate with strong convictions, but that should in no way lead us to exclusive attitudes and terms that destroy the fraternity that should exist among Sandinists. I believe it would be a mistake not to admit that there have been faults on all sides. Similar or worse damage is done to the debate not only by one who speaks in extremely frank language, which may be rude, and by one who wields his words as skillfully as a surgeon's scalpel, making cuts and deep wounds without those wounds being perceptible to everyone. There has been some of that in this debate. There are some comrades who have the ability and skill to open wounds without them being apparent to everyone, and there are some who resort to rough language.

[Lacayo Guerra] What do you think the FSLN's relations with the U.S. Government should be?

[Lopez Campos] The U.S. ambassador stated in EL SEMANARIO that history cannot be repeated. People who forget their own history are people who do not deserve respect. The United States will respect us if it sees that we are consistent with ourselves and our history, and with our healthy intention of having friendly relations with it. We did not attack the United States. It was the United States who has attacked us throughout our modern history, and we cannot forget that. Nor can that be the starting point for maintaining a position of friction and hostility. I do not know any Sandinist who thinks that he can conduct Sandinist politics by seeking confrontations with the United States. I do not know a single one. Some points that Sergio has been making have greatly displeased me. In his statements to EL PAIS, in his zeal for strengthening his proposals for renewal, to which he is fully entitled, he has been distorting his diagnosis of reality and dwelling on an apocalyptic image of the nation's future, saying that the tragedy will be to be torn between radical Sandinism, on one side, and Arnoldo Aleman's extremism on the other. In that situation, says Sergio, the prospect is chaos, and so we need to converge toward the center of the Nicaraguan political spectrum. Honestly, I say I do not see where Sergio gets that extremist and radical Sandinism. It seems to me that he is trying to strengthen his own position by using that image or invoking that "horrific danger."

Ernesto Castillo on FSLN Congress, Reforms

94CA0103A Managua EL SEMANARIO in Spanish 24 Mar 94-6 Apr 94 pp 14, 15

[Interview with FSLN member Ernesto Castillo by Walter Lacayo Guerra; in the library of his home; date not given; first three paragraphs are EL SEMANARIO introduction]

[Text] Upon the victory of the Sandinist revolution he was appointed and sworn in by the JGRN [National Reconstruction Government Junta] as attorney general. He then became the "great confiscator" from the Somoza family and their allies with the promulgation of the now internationally famous Decrees 3 and 38. He will never regret having applied them vigorously.

He is the father of eight, one of whom—Ernesto Castillo Salaverry—died during the September 1978 uprising, fighting the National Guard with the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] guerrillas. He was a member of the old Sandinist Assembly that was dissolved at the end of the first FSLN Congress in July 1991.

Ernesto Castillo, who for five years (1985-90) served as the Sandinist government's ambassador to the USSR, now teaches at the UCA [Central American University] Law School, as he did from 1960 to 1970. In the library of his home he answered our questions, one by one.

[Lacayo Guerra] You signed the document "For a Sandinism Restored to the Masses." Is not that faction a sort of Sandinist intellectuals' movement?

[Castillo] Not so. Both documents, ours and the one released by the Democratic Left, were prepared by intellectuals. Julio Lopez Campos, for example, is an intellectual who is a member of the Democratic Left, just as Sergio Ramirez is an intellectual. It is by no means correct to say this is a movement of intellectuals. These are people with different views on the Front's leadership. Now, of course, to discuss and draft a document, you have to know how to read, write, and think. So in that sense, every document is prepared by intellectuals.

[Lacayo Guerra] Your faction represents social democracy in the FSLN?

[Castillo] I believe such labels are a source of ridiculous embarrassment. Some people are now embarrassed to be reminded that they were Marxist-Leninists or communists, when in the past they shouted that with great pride. Those are only terms that become fashionable and then suddenly people are stigmatized with those labels. We should see who will be more offended, a person called a Marxist-Leninist or a social democrat. Those purely formal terms should not concern anyone.

[Lacayo Guerra] It has been said that your faction was born with an electoral goal in mind: to launch Sergio

Ramirez as a presidential candidate, and the other supporters want to be candidates for deputies and municipal officials.

[Castillo] That all seems ridiculous to me. A person simply has to read the document to realize that it represents a large number of revolutionaries who are questioning internal situations in the Sandinist Front. At no time do they support the candidacy of Sergio or anybody else, even though they have that right, for we all have the right to make decisions about candidacies. But that is not what we are concerned with now.

[Lacayo Guerra] So what are you concerned with?

[Castillo] The internal situation of an FSLN that is paralyzed. And I would not call the document a platform. For me and all of us who signed it, it is a way to force a logical review of the FSLN, to adapt it to today's circumstances, independently of candidacies and whether or not the concepts and contents of our document, like the Democratic Left document, may be revised. These are not absolute proposals at all. Instead, this is a way of questioning a party that does not want to change.

[Lacayo Guerra] What were your motivations for signing that document?

[Castillo] Well, I saw it as an opportunity to force the FSLN to review its internal situation and try to find among all of us, including the Democratic Left and any other sector of the Front, a party that can respond to the people and to the ideals for which we fought and got involved in this Sandinist Front.

[Lacayo Guerra] We are on the eve of an Extraordinary Congress of the Sandinist Front. What do you expect from that Congress?

[Castillo] I expect very little. Very little. The documents I have read and the way the process is being carried out give me the impression that there is going to be very little space for people to try to rediscover the Sandinist identity and to find an FSLN restored to its values. I believe we are not going to have much of an opportunity, since the congress is being organized by those who are trying to keep the Sandinist Front from changing.

[Lacayo Guerra] Are you pessimistic?

[Castillo] It is not a matter of being pessimistic. It is rather that I have no confidence that from this congress, arranged in a hasty and forced manner, there may emerge what we really want from the Sandinist Front. There has been little time, or rather, they have left little space where the FSLN could be in charge of a group of people who truly want to open up the party, both to face new challenges and also to recover the honesty and morality of the true FSLN of the past.

[Lacayo Guerra] The Extraordinary Congress is going to reform the statutes and prepare a new program. If the results are as you say you believe, will this mean something like "an election defeat announced in advance"?

[Castillo] I do not think the congress is going to deal with the 1996 elections, nor do I think the Sandinist Front should consider the next elections. The 1996 elections are a deadline for which we must be prepared, but not a goal. Sandinism needs to seek in this congress, as it should always do, more universal aims than elections, even though elections do have a great deal of importance.

[Lacayo Guerra] What specific situations make you have doubts about this Extraordinary Congress?

[Castillo] The essential thing is to recover the moral authority of the FSLN. Even though the document that I signed is called, "For a Sandinism Restored to the Masses," that will not happen if we do not start by restoring moral authority. I can say that if we are unable to overcome this moral decline, a more or less moderate FSLN may arise, but it will not be the true FSLN, but instead a political party just like any other political party.

[Lacayo Guerra] What is your reason for saying the FSLN has lost its historic morality?

[Castillo] What I am saying is that some people in the Sandinist Front are presenting the face of an FSLN that no longer has the moral authority it used to have. I say that essentially because of the abuses committed after 1990. There was enrichment, some people became businessmen, which is not bad in itself. What is bad is being a crooked businessman who expands his capital with other people's money. The mansions and property that those people now control—which they obtained illegally—the revolution had intended these properties to benefit the people, and not to benefit certain individuals.

[Lacayo Guerra] What if the Congress does not define a party that identifies itself with what you consider the Sandinist Front should be? Would you resign your membership?

[Castillo] In my case, what motivates me in political action is a revolutionary concept that always remains when one really is a revolutionary. Being in one party or another is a question of whether that party responds to revolutionary interests. From its origin up to the present, the FSLN has unfailingly provided the most opportunity to develop revolutionary ideas and do revolutionary work. But if one day the FSLN is no longer revolutionary, then logically a person must go his own way. Something else will arise where that work may be pursued.

[Lacayo Guerra] Do you describe yourself as on the left?

[Castillo] Intellectually, I think the left has not exhausted its potential. The next generation must continue to seek a more collective, more just society. And not only because I am on the left, but also because that is more

consistent with revolutionary beliefs. Even with Christian beliefs for those who have them. Those hopes for a less egotistical, less individualistic society must not be lost.

[Lacayo Guerra] There is so much social inequality, unemployment, poverty.... What is the role of a revolutionary party in these circumstances?

[Castillo] Its role is to learn how to interpret correctly those circumstances and work so that, wherever possible, it can stop the savage and voracious advance of economic policies that do not respect any system of ethics, do not consider human dignity, and also use the right tools to regain power and from there make the changes that are needed.

[Lacayo Guerra] Should the party lead the people's struggles?

[Castillo] The Sandinist Front should be at the head of the popular struggle. This needs to be understood. If people ask me about violence, I say that I support the violence we used in 1979. If I am asked about confiscations, I support our confiscations in 1979, for we wanted a change and we made the utmost use of that opportunity. Did we know how to organize and make that permanent? That is something else.

Now, in these circumstances in which the historic situation tells us that we can only reach the government through elections, we must use this opportunity to bring about change. But that does not mean we are no longer revolutionary.

[Lacayo Guerra] What is your opinion of violent methods of struggle?

[Castillo] That depends. Let us suppose that in 1996 the elections are won by a political sector that defends the interests of the masses, and the present government says: "I will not turn over the government." Then it would be legitimate to take up arms to recover power that was won in clean elections. There should be no scruple about taking up arms. But, of course, taking up arms unnecessarily does not make sense when we have a system that should be used first.

[Lacayo Guerra] The issue of relations between the Sandinist Front and U.S. administrations is fairly controversial. What do you think?

[Castillo] There must be honorable and respectful relations on both sides. The United States has been responsible for injustice, for poverty; it still is, and so we have to see. But that does not mean we should break off relations or be in a state of permanent confrontation. Instead, there must be a flexible response to its positions. If those positions are logical, then there should be logical responses. If they are positions of violence or abuses of our sovereignty, we must defend ourselves with all our dignity and with firmness, no matter what great power it may have.

[Lacayo Guerra] Is the concept of anti-imperialism still valid?

[Castillo] That concept is now a little out of date, for empires themselves are out of date. Instead, it is the concept of sovereignty that should be understood and clarified. Our decline has been so great that now, even our relations with Costa Rica, which is not an empire, are not relations of equal to equal, especially with this government. The meaning of sovereignty is that it must prevail against any country.

[Lacayo Guerra] What are your ideas about revising the FSLN statutes?

[Castillo] The principal axis of the FSLN should not be so much the statutes, for the FSLN is still in a phase of structural search and programmatic adjustment. Instead, it needs to change its internal mindset and way of thinking. The essential is a change in leadership; first of all, it has to decide to break with this clinging to power....

[Lacayo Guerra] Are you talking about a change in mentality of the present leaders or a change in leaders?

[Castillo] I am talking about a change in the leaders in the top leadership and at intermediate levels that are clinging to a structure without any reason, rather than to power for the sake of power. I think that is more important than the program itself. It is the same with constitutions. You can have a wonderful constitution, and if it is poorly used, people can do whatever they want with it.

[Lacayo Guerra] What do you think about the National Directorate as an organization? Should its name be changed? Should it be expanded?

[Castillo] It should cease to exist as a structure and all the members of the National Directorate should be removed. New people have to take over the leadership. Hierarchy has been a serious problem in the Front, as we have still not lost our concept of vanguard. We needed a vanguard at one time. In a political and military leadership a vanguard was necessary, but now it is not, for that concept brings with it a mistaken hierarchy. We need to set Sandinist forces free to seek their own leadership, and the discussion we are now having about methods of struggle, about the program, should be left to the free workings of the people who need that change. For in essence, these become discussions of the inner circle.

[Lacayo Guerra] On a personal level, do you have any aspirations to belong to a leadership organization of the Sandinist Front?

[Castillo] No, no, absolutely not. I am terrified of that type of thing because it is the easiest way to get entangled and caught up in complications. Other people can do that, people who have a type of discipline that I do not have. I think there is more freedom to question when you are on the bottom, especially in a phase of search and renewal.

Panama

Panama Joins Central American Parliament

PA1405181794 Panama City EL PANAMA AMERICA in Spanish 12 May 94 p 3a

[Report by Carlos Vargas]

[Text] The Legislative Assembly yesterday ratified the constitutive treaty whereby Panama will join the Central American Parliament (Parlacen).

In a little over 24 hours the Assembly approved in the second and third debates the Parlacen constitutive treaty, which was signed by the Central American presidents on 2 October 1987.

According to the treaty, Panama will have a representation of 20 deputies in Parlacen, each of whom will be elected for a five-year term by direct vote. They will also be allowed to run for second terms.

The treaty establishes that presidents and vice presidents of Central American countries will join Parlacen when they complete their mandates.

It is estimated that Panama will have to contribute $1.7 million to enter the regional organization. Parlacen will pay the deputies' salaries.

Parlacen will serve as a deliberative body to analyze political, economic, social, and cultural matters common to the region and the security of Central American nations.

Assembly President Arturo Vallarino said the current trend toward the establishment of world blocs makes it necessary for Panama to join a regional forum where its problems will be discussed.

President-Elect Meets Media, Promises Free Press

PA1505035594 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 12 May 94

[From the "RPC Television News" newscast]

[Text] President-elect Ernesto Perez Balladares met Thursday with Roberto Eisenmann, owner and president of the daily LA PRENSA. The meeting, which lasted more than 30 minutes, has been described as positive. The two discussed matters of national interest in the short and medium term. They also discussed the current Constitution and the need to make changes to it. Media laws inherited from the recent past were also discussed.

[Begin recording] [Eisenmann] He is doing everything possible to secure a consensus. Ten days before the elections I wrote an article saying that I was optimistic. There is evidence now that supports this optimism. The big test is always in what is done, not in what is said, but so far all of us can feel that this is a president for all Panamanians.

[Reporter] What about a national agreement?

[Eisenmann] I think that one of the most important components of a democracy is a vigorous opposition. I don't believe in just talking about national unity. This is a favorite thing for dictators. I think that in vigorous diversity there is the clear possibility of national consensus. I think that if he stays on the road down which he has started this will be possible. [end recording]

Later, Perez Balladares visited EL SIGLO in the company of Raul Arango, who is the future presidency minister, and other important advisers. During his visit, Perez Balladares met with EL SIGLO's director, Jaime Padilla Beliz, and other members of the board of directors of that enterprise. He was invited to tour the installations and was able to talk to the personnel, who greeted him enthusiastically.

Dr. Perez Balladares also visited the offices of the weekly EL CAMALEON, where he signed autographs and was photographed next to the equipment of this popular media organ, which has a high circulation.

Dr. Perez Balladares said that these visits are part of his campaign promises.

[Begin recording] [Perez Balladares] This is a serious position, a commitment. I want to reiterate to the media that there will be absolute respect for freedom of expression, including the media that has aggravated me in the past, including the media opposed to me, which can continue opposing me with complete freedom.

[Reporter] What do you think about the way you have been received?

[Perez Balladares] Fine. I think that it is most important for people to maintain communications, to see each other, not to go separate ways. I plan to continue doing this now as president-elect, and you can be certain that as president I will also be visiting the media and talking to them.

[Padilla Beliz] I think that these actions by the president-elect are very positive. Let's hope the other people in his party share this attitude. He is trying to comply with and consolidate his promises for a national agreement. This is a source of much enthusiasm. [end recording]

Comments on SPI, Offer to Arnulfists

PA1505035294 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 12 May 94

[From the "RPC Television News" newscast]

[Text] Dr. Ernesto Perez Balladares will retain the Institutional Protection Service [SPI] and will promote its professionalization.

As the president-elect sees it, it is important to insist on a coalition government. This is what he hinted when he learned of the Arnulfist's decision to reject two ministries he offered to them.

[Begin Perez Balladares recording] My offer was not an intention to create political slots, but an intention to create

agreements, affinity, and to have the best men and women in the country for national projects. [end recording]

Perez Balladares said that the Legislative Assembly must approve the designation of the new comptroller general from a list of nominees he will submit when he takes over the government in September.

The president-elect was also asked about the future of the SPI.

[Begin Perez Balladares recording] I think that all presidential offices in all countries must have a protection service for people and institutions. I think this service must be professional, apolitical, and capable of fulfilling its functions. If I find these characteristics in the SPI, it will continue functioning exactly as it functions now. [end recording]

Perez Balladares said that he has a special office to answer the grievances of public employees who have been unjustly dismissed. He flatly rejected the possibility of an Arnulfist becoming president of the Legislative Assembly in September.

[Begin Perez Balladares recording] I believe that the legislative branch will have to make its own decisions, and I highly respect that. However, seeing how the Assembly is taking shape, I think that it will be presided over by the party that has obtained the most votes, and that is us. [end recording]

Explains Meaning of Campaign Slogan

PA1605150294 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 15 May 94 p 1A

[Article by Jose Quintero De Leon and Nubia Aparicio S.]

[Text] Ernesto Perez Balladares, the new president of the Republic, yesterday explained that his campaign slogan "the people to power" could have been misinterpreted by his followers and the rest of the country. The issue came up as a result of criticism of Perez Balladares' offer to men like Guillermo Chapman and Ricardo Alberto Arias, considered members of the oligarchy, to hold positions in his government.

"It is a problem of conceptual definition," Perez said. He added that "the people to power" does not necessarily mean that all the ministers or directors of the autonomous institutions must be very poor people. This means, the president-elect said, that the government's policy must, above all, protect the interests of the people but this must also be done with everyone's participation.

"People does not mean only the poor; people means all of Panama and there are not only whites and blacks in Panama; there is a little of every one and that is the way I plan to compose my government, with everyone," Perez Balladares said.

According to the president-elect, he cannot please everyone and he is convinced that his commitment is to the Panamanian people. Perez Balladares admitted that he is a realist and that he only received one-third of the votes. Perez Balladares added that the other two-thirds are not his enemies, but they did not vote for him. Perez Balladares views what happened as a people's mandate to attain national consensus and this is precisely what he is trying to do.

According to the president-elect, there are two things he cannot do. He cannot disregard the issue of a national consensus because he believes this is what the country needs; nor can he disregard his party, the one with the most votes in the country. These are the two factors he is attempting to bring together.

In this regard, Perez Balladares said that his party will have a majority participation in his government, but there must also be participation of the independent forces. He has also invited Panamanians who are members of other parties to participate in his government.

More Appointments to the New Cabinet Announced

Meanwhile, the Democratic Revolutionary Party's [PRD] press office has announced new appointments of ministers and directors of autonomous institutions that will make up the new Perez Balladares government. Among those on the list of future ministers are: Housing Minister Dr. Francisco Sanchez Cardenas, Labor and Social Welfare Minister Mitchel Doens, and Public Works Minister Luis Blanco. Two women will head the Commerce and Industry and the Government and Justice ministries; however, their names were not disclosed. Dr. Hugo Torrijos Richa has been appointed to head the National Port Authority.

Prior to these appointments it was announced that Gabriel Lewis Galindo would be the new foreign minister; Raul Arango, the new minister of the presidency; and Olmedo Miranda Jr., the new finance minister.

A PRD source, who requested to remain anonymous said that many within the party are not pleased because "almost all the ministers appointed are of the oligarchy," thus ignoring the slogan "the people to power" that Perez Balladares used during the campaign.

The source also said that there is a "rivalry between the Public Force [FP] officials and the former Defense Forces offices. The FP officials have expressed their strongest opposition to the appointment of a single member of the former Defense Forces to the Public Force. These former Defense Forces officers thought that once Perez Balladares won the election they would return to power, the source said.

According to the source, as far as the FP officials are concerned, "it is impossible to incorporate those officers into the FP because they are accustomed to repressing civilians and violating human rights. How can they be part of an organization created to defend democracy and the rights of citizens?"

The source also said that Balbina Herrera is the PRD member who is the most upset with Perez Balladares' conduct.

Argentina

Start of Mercosur 'Postponed for 3 Months'

PY1605213194 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1714 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Buenos Aires, 16 May (NA)—The Economy Ministry press office has reported that Economy Minister Domingo Cavallo announced in the ROK on 16 May that the launch of the Mercosur [Common Market of the South] free trade zone will be postponed for three months.

The press office issued a communique to inform the public about Cavallo's agenda in that Asian country. It states that the head of the Economy Ministry "asserted that the Mercosur will function like a free trade zone as of 1 April 1995 and that a customs union will be established later."

The free trade zone between Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay was scheduled to come into effect on 1 January 1995.

Ministry Corrects Announcement

PY1605224094 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2133 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Buenos Aires, 16 May (EFE)—The Economy Ministry corrected an announcement made by Economy Minister Domingo Cavallo concerning the alleged three-month postponement of the implementation of the Common Market of the South (Mercosur).

A mistake by an official seemingly misrepresented Cavallo's remarks in the ROK, which had caused surprise in domestic political, diplomatic, and economic spheres.

According to official information, Cavallo had announced in Seoul that Mercosur would go into effect on 1 April 1995, with a three-month delay in its original schedule.

When three hours had elapsed since the information's release and after journalists' insistence on learning the reason why the Argentine economy minister unilaterally announced the alleged postponement, an Economy Ministry official acknowledged that he made a mistake "when transcribing the tape" on which Cavallo's remarks had been recorded.

Having met with the ROK's minister of the Economic Planning Board, Chae-sok Chong, Cavallo commented that "Mercosur will grow at a faster pace than NAFTA."

To support his statement, Cavallo noted that the Mercosur member countries' economies are "undergoing tremendous growth, as evinced by the Argentine case."

Menem Says Extradition for Thatcher Possible

PY1605203294 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1849 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Bariloche (Argentina), 16 May (EFE)—Argentine President Carlos Menem announced on 16 May that his country will request the extradition of Margaret Thatcher, the UK's former head of government, "in case it is proved" that the General Belgrano cruiser's sinking during the Malvinas war was a war crime.

During a news conference today in Bariloche, located at the foot of the Andes Mountains, where he opened the Fourth Ibero-American Computer Science and Justice Congress, Menem said: "It has to be determined whether the ship's sinking was a war crime or not."

Ministers Di Tella, Kozyrev Sign Agreement

PY1605203794 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1356 GMT 16 May 94

[All names as received]

[Text] Moscow, 16 May (EFE)—Russia and Argentina further strengthened their links today. Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Argentine Foreign Minister Guido Di Tella signed agreements which stress that relations between their two countries extend beyond the bilateral level and into the international field.

Russian-Argentine relations are "an important element in Russia's relations with Latin America due to Argentina's importance in the region," Kozyrev said as he received his Argentine counterpart.

At the end of the first part of the negotiation, Di Tella praised Russia's "extraordinary progress" in the last few years, stressing that the two countries now share a "philosophy" which makes possible the discussion of security issues—as was done today—"in the same language."

The basic document signed by Kozyrev and Di Tella is a preliminary agreement on the "bases for Argentine and Russian Federation relations." The Argentine foreign minister said the two countries' presidents will sign a definitive agreement in Moscow in six months to one year.

The two officials also signed a protocol for "consultation" between their respective foreign affairs departments and an agreement to eliminate the visa requirement for diplomatic and service personnel.

Di Tella arrived in Moscow from Saint Petersburg for a three-day official visit at the invitation of his Russian counterpart. He visited Turkmenistan on 12 and 13 May. Turkmenistan is a former Soviet Republic located in Central Asia where Argentine companies have important investments.

Kozyrev recalled that Argentina is this year a nonpermanent member of the UN Security Council while Russia is

a permanent member. He added that this is reason enough for the two countries to maintain close bilateral and "global" relations.

Kozyrev said that Argentina is one of the "key" countries in Latin America, adding that Russia is currently strengthening its relations with the region and is sponsoring Russian cooperation through regional political institutions, particularly the OAS and regional countries' economic groups.

Spokesman Mikhail Demurin said recently that Russia considers Argentina to be "its largest and most promising partner in Latin America."

Di Tella said that Argentina and Russia are old friends, adding that never before during this century relations have been better than now. Di Tella described what is occurring in the Russian Federation as "admirable," stressing that Russia deserves to be respected as "a great power."

The Argentine minister added that Russia and Argentina are part of the new world process which is based on peace, cooperation, and mutual respect.

Di Tella's entourage includes numerous foreign officials, leaders of the ruling and opposition parties in Congress, and several entrepreneurs. Argentine Ambassador to Russia Juan Carlos Olima, Coordination General Under Secretary Andres Cisneros, and Foreign Policy Under Secretary Rogelio Pfirter are among those who accompanied the foreign minister during his meeting with Kozyrev.

After the meeting, which lasted more than an hour, the Russian foreign minister offered a luncheon in honor of his counterpart and his delegation.

International Economic Relations Secretary Jorge Campbell, International Cooperation Director General Eduardo Perez, and Argentine entrepreneurs met meanwhile with Vladimir Karastin, the foreign economic relations vice minister, and Russian entrepreneurs.

Russia's new situation "demands much imagination in order to do business. We now need to know each other better," Campbell told EFE. Campbell was an expert Argentine negotiator with the former USSR. He emphasizes the favorable changes taking place in Russia.

Argentine entrepreneurs told their hosts about their desire to do business through a counterbalanced trade mechanism.

Di Tella will meet later today with Yegor Gaidar, "the father" of Russian reform and leader of the "Russian Option" party; and with Grigory Yablinski, a notable economist and member of Boris Yeltsin's moderate opposition.

Tonight the foreign minister will have a chance to speak with the entire spectrum of Russian politicians who have been invited to a reception at the Argentine Embassy.

Di Tella's Moscow Activities Viewed

PY1605221794 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1611 GMT 16 May 94

[All names and titles as received]

[Text] Moscow, 16 May (EFE)—Argentine Foreign Minister Guido Di Tella today proposed to his Russian colleague, Andrey Kozyrev, the reactivation of a mechanism for payment compensation that the two countries signed but are not implementing. He granted Russia a $30-million line of credit for Argentine exports.

Di Tella told EFE that this mechanism ensures that credit and debt columns are closed and the difference is paid.

Argentina currently owes Russia about $150 million and therefore wants to resume exports to Moscow.

The foreign minister added that the $30-million line of credit is not included in the compensation mechanism that Argentina wants to implement.

Di Tella stated that during today's political talks with Kozyrev, on the first day of his three-day official visit to Moscow, that he indicated the time has come to maintain complete and fruitful relations because Russia has a greater trade "focus."

The foreign minister stated earlier that Russia and Argentina are a part of the new world process in which rapprochement between nations is made on the basis of peace, cooperation, and mutual respect.

The Argentine foreign minister expressed surprise over the situation in Russia which is much better than what one reads and hears from afar—especially the remarks of the ultranationalist Vladimir Yirinovsky, whose Liberal Democratic Party won the most recent parliamentary elections.

"One can see that this country is moving and it will have a lot of influence" when it overcomes its crisis in less time than most people believe, Di Tella said.

The foreign minister stated that Russia is "a great power with problems," but when it overcomes them "there is no doubt" it will be one of the world's great powers.

Di Tella will meet with Vice Premier Alexandr Shojin on 17 May. During the meeting he will again discuss the economic agreement and the viability of increasing Argentine exports to Russia.

"I am discovering that no one is against reform," Di Tella said, although they differ over time spans and tactics.

During his meeting today with the architects of these reforms—Yegor Gaidar and economist Grigori Yablinski, who is the leader of the moderate opposition—Di Tella plans to find out "the depth of the dangers facing the reform."

Following his 14 May meetings with the progressive mayor of Saint Petersburg and with his Russian colleague, Di Tella said that "when one speaks with (Anatoly) Sobchak and Kozyrev, one can see that they are sensible people."

U.S. Agriculture Secretary Meets Local Officials

PY1705003594 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 2122 GMT 16 May 94

[Excerpts] Buenos Aires, 16 May (NA)—[Passage omitted] [U.S. Agriculture Secretary Mike] Espy held a news conference with Felipe Sola, his Argentine colleague, at the Economy Ministry after meeting with Economy Vice Minister Carlos Sanchez.

The U.S. official arrived on 13 May (his visit is part of a trip that will take him to Brazil on 17 May and finally to Mexico). He also met with President Carlos Menem, Vice Foreign Minister Fernando Petrella, and with the Senate and Chamber of Deputies Agriculture Committees.

Espy and Sola termed their talks as "excellent and fruitful." The Argentine official insisted on the global need to eradicate dumping [preceding word in English] and subsidies.

"I told Espy that maintaining our share of the Brazilian market is our main concern," said Sola, adding: "We asked for political priority in sanitary and phyto-sanitary [sanitarios y fitosanitarios] fields."

Sola indicated that on 6 June a "high level" U.S. delegation will visit the country to study the phyto-sanitary situation and the conclusions of this delegation will be decisive in the purchase of Argentine beef by the United States. [sentence as received] [passage omitted]

Espy's remarks have a political interpretation because Argentina currently maintains a strong tug-of-war with the United States over the Pharmaceutical Patents Law. On several occasions, U.S. Ambassador James Cheek has supported a solomonic decision: Patents for subsidies. [passage omitted]

Opposition Figures Announce Plans To Run

PY1605153594 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 14 May 94 p 11

[Text] (DYN-NA)—Rio Negro Governor Horacio Massaccesi became the third Radical politician to throw his hat into the presidential ring yesterday, just one day after Federal Capital Senator Fernando de la Rua confirmed that he too would seek the nation's top elected office.

Massaccesi said during an appearance on the lunchtime television talk show "Almorzando con Mirtha Legrand" that his goal was "to make a contribution to society and the party."

The governor also told Rio Negro leaders gathered in the Federal Capital that he planned to open a round of talks with party officials beginning on Wednesday in Catamarca and Jujuy.

Massaccesi followed closely in the footsteps of De la Rua, who announced on Thursday night that he would seek to replace President Carlos Menem in 1995.

"This is one of the (Radical Party's) most critical moments in its long history of service to the country," the senator told members of his Participation Movement. "I am willing to assume the responsibility of being a candidate."

Meanwhile, Cordoba Governor Eduardo Angeloz, who has already expressed interest in running next year as he did in 1989, said he was sympathetic to the ruling Justicialist determination to retain the Constituent Assembly's presidency and first vice-presidency.

Angeloz said that the Justicialists would not want to leave a Radical delegate in charge of the assembly if the head of state were to leave the country and his brother, Senate Provisional President Eduardo Menem, had taken over the national presidency as provisional Senate chief.

Coast Guard Arrests Ukrainian Factory Ship

PY1605212394 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1523 GMT 15 May 94

[Text] Buenos Aires, 15 May (NA)—The Argentine Coast Guard has reported that a Ukrainian factory ship was caught today fishing illegally in the exclusive economic zone, 198.6 nautical miles off Buenos Aires Province.

The Coast Guard cutter Prefecto Fique intercepted the Ukrainian-flagged Koronometr at 0100 today with its nets deployed. The decision was made to board it.

The coast guard crew confirmed that the large factory ship, which has an overall length of 83 meters, was transporting 56.8 tonnes of fish meal and 32.7 tonnes of processed squid which had been caught in Argentine territorial waters without authorization.

Confirming the infringement, the captain of the Ukrainian vessel was made to sail toward Mar del Plata port, where it will arrive tomorrow at 1000 local time to face charges of violation of domestic fishing laws.

These laws provide for the seizure of the illegal catch and the payment of a fine that can go as high as $1 million.

ORP Denies Japanese Embassy Attack

PY1605183094 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 0010 GMT 16 May 94

[Excerpt] Buenos Aires, 15 May (NA)—The People's Revolutionary Army (ORP) today denied any involvement in the attack on the Japanese Embassy on 13 May and blamed incriminating reports on "counterintelligence maneuvers."

The ORP states that pamphlets linking the ORP to the attack "are a pathetic attempt to involve the organization in an incident that is without political motive."

The ORP press communique stresses that it has "always" admitted responsibility for its actions, adding that this "attempt" to link it to the attack "a pathetic counterintelligence maneuver." [passage omitted]

Ex-De Facto President Receives 10-Day Sentence

PY1605221994 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 16 May 94 p 1

[Text] (NA)—Former de facto president, retired General Alejandro Lanusse was sentenced to 10 days arrest by the Army over the weekend for publicly criticizing the government, unofficial sources said yesterday [15 May].

A local news agency reported that Lanusse has been under arrest at the Military Hospital since Saturday [14 May]. Army Chief-of-Staff Lieutenant General Martin Balza ordered Lanusse's detention, which will extend until May 25, said the sources.

Lanusse asserted last week during a cable television programme that the governments of former General Juan Peron and the current Justicialist administration were "the most corrupt" he had known.

The retired general—who headed a three-man ruling junta from 1971 to 1973—also said that Balza should not have taken a personal interest in the alleged murder of recruit Omar Carrasco at a military base in Neuquen. His opinions are said to have been taken into account by the Army's top brass in ordering the arrest.

Brazil

Orestes Quercia Nominated PMDB Presidential Candidate

PY1605132294 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 1000 GMT 16 May 94

[Excerpt] Orestes Quercia has been nominated presidential candidate for the PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party]. Quercia defeated former Parana Governor Roberto Requiao in the party internal elections held throughout the country on 15 May.

Quercia won the internal PMDB elections by a broad margin. PMDB President Luiz Henrique said that despite the high rate of abstentions, he believes that the result reflects the will of the PMDB grassroots. [passage omitted]

President Franco Cancels Scheduled Visit to PRC

PY1605132494 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 1000 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] The president has cancelled a trip that he was to have made to the PRC beginning on 23 May. In a message to the PRC president, Franco said that he laments the cancellation, and reiterates his willingness to support cooperation projects between the two countries.

Senator Jarbas Passarinho, Senator Jose Sarney, and Brazilian Ambassador to Portugal Jose Aparecido de Oliveira had advised Franco to avoid being absent from the country during the implementation of the real and while there are ongoing strikes in the public sector, according to presidential advisers. In addition, a presidential absence would be negative for the electoral process.

Cuba's Castro Visits Bahia

PY1405004994 Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 13 May 94 p A11

[Report by Biaggio Talento, including interview with Cuban President Fidel Castro, in Salvador, Bahia State on 12 May]

[Text] Salvador—Cuban President Fidel Castro made a 12-hour stopover in the capital of Bahia upon his return from South Africa after participating in Nelson Mandela's inauguration. Castro granted an interview to ESTADO in which he spoke about the economic blockade imposed on Cuba, Luis Inacio Lula da Silva's position on the blockade, and Cuban policies. He was rather confused about the situation of former Bahia Governor Antonio Carlos Magalhaes, who is now running for a seat in the Senate. "Here in Brazil officials must resign their posts six months before the elections if they want to compete in them," Magalhaes explained. "You are addicted to holding elections every month," Castro joked, provoking laughs among the guests of a banquet in his honor offered by Governor Antonio Imbassahy at Ondina Palace. He provoked even louder laughs when he said he was surprised to find so few presidential candidates in Brazil this year: "Brazilians could even reach the conclusion that a single candidate policy might be best."

[Talento] What is Cuba doing to break the economic embargo?

[Castro] We are doing everything possible. There is a movement against the blockade that is gaining momentum in the United States. Only two or three nations support the blockade in the United Nations. Cuba resisted, is resisting, and will continue to resist.

[Talento] PT [Workers Party] presidential candidate Luis Inacio Lula da Silva called for an end to the blockade against Cuba during his visit to the United States. What is your opinion on his position?

[Castro] I appreciate it a lot. He always held that position. Many politicians and, in general, many members of progressive and democratic groups in the world are also opposed to the blockade.

[Talento] What are your expectations regarding the economic plan now under implementation in Cuba?

[Castro] It is not a new economic plan. We are implementing a series of measures. We are developing an opening adjusted to the special conditions we are living under today, without renouncing our social victories. The National Assembly adopted a series of measures seeking to straighten out our internal financial situation.

[Talento] What do these new measures change?

[Castro] They seek to reduce the excessive volume of money in circulation. Despite our current difficulties we did not throw anyone into the streets, or sacrifice our social and educational programs.

[Talento] Are there any changes in public utility rates?

[Castro] Yes. We changed some utility rates. We adjusted electricity and fuel prices. We also increased taxes on superfluous items, such as cigarettes and cigars. We will try to maintain basic items' current prices.

[Talento] The world is splitting into markets. What prevents Latin America from having its own market?

[Castro] The U.S. economy is in crisis as a result of the strong competition from other blocs (Europe, Asia), and wants to control the Latin American market completely. But many Latin American countries have stronger trade relations with Europe than with the United States. These countries have the obligation to defend regional mechanisms such as Mercosur [Common Market of the South], the Andean Pact, or the Central American market in order to prevent the United States from completely absorbing them.

[Talento] There is a lot of talk about Cuba's need to implement political reform. Is there any trend pointing in that direction?

[Castro] There is a tendency to ignore all the reforms introduced by Cuba in the past few years. These reforms have just as much quality and democratic spirit than the reforms made by many other countries. But we do not have access to the multinationals that control the information, and our reforms are little known.

[Talento] Do you still have another meeting after you leave here today (it was after 0100)?

[Castro] I have a meeting with Morpheus [one of the gods of dreams in Greek mythology]. (laughs)

[Talento] Will you visit the city?

[Castro] I am in a hurry to return. I have been away from Cuba for over a week.

[Talento] At what time are you leaving?

[Castro] It is a military secret. (laughs)

Congress Authorizes UN Troop Deployment to Mozambique

PY1405011994 Brasilia Voz do Brasil Network in Portuguese 2200 GMT 13 May 94

[Report by Alana Gandra in Rio de Janeiro]

[Text] The Brazilian Congress has approved the government's request for authorization to send peacekeeping troops to Mozambique. Foreign Minister Celso Amorim discussed the issue with UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, and only budget, technical, and military logistical matters have yet to be resolved with the United Nations. Amorim said:

[Begin recording] In any case, the UN secretary general again conveyed to me that he is interested. We are now discussing budget, technical, and even military logistical matters with the United Nations, i.e. whether we will be sending a battalion or a company. A battalion consists of 700 men, while a company consists of more than 200 men. We will probably be sending a battalion to Mozambique. [end recording]

The cost of sending an Army battalion stands at approximately $40 million, which will be reimbursed by the United Nations.

Romanian Premier Signs Agreements

PY1605113894 Sao Paulo GAZETA MERCANTIL in Portuguese 12 May 94 p 3

[Article by Maria Helena Tachinardi from Brasilia]

[Text] Romania will open a consulate in Sao Paulo, and Brazil will also establish a consulate in a Romanian city that has yet to be decided. Besides agreeing on this, on 11 May both countries signed an agreement providing for bilateral political consultations.

Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, who is making a state visit to Brazil, met with President Itamar Franco on 11 May and expressed his country's interest in signing another two agreements—one on the promotion and protection of investments, and another one to do away with double taxation.

Two business deals between both countries that are deemed promising are the supply of railroad ties and equipment for the Soybean Railroad [Ferrovia da Soja] which is currently under construction, financed by businessman Olacyr de Moraes; and the export of the SIAF [Integrated System of Financial Administration] of the Federal Data Processing Service (Serpro) for accounting and budget control. According to a source close to Itamaraty, the IMF has recommended the SIAF. This system has already been bought by Angola and Paraguay. The problem Romania encounters in purchasing this system is lack of financing.

According to Vacaroiu, his country is interested in mounting an assembly line for ARO-24 all-terrain vehicles. This business venture is being undertaken with the Brazilian company Embramil [Brazilian Missile Company], which is interested in the transfer of Romanian technology for the manufacturing of different types of bombs.

The prime minister announced that the Romanian company Rocar is also interested in manufacturing utility vehicles in the Manaus free zone. Rocar would also like to supply ambulances to Rio de Janeiro State, which has yet to obtain the funds for this business transaction.

Vacaroiu will visit Petrobras [Brazilian Petroleum Corporation] and the Rio Doce Valley Company today, and will have a luncheon with businessmen from the Rio de Janeiro Trade Association. Tomorrow he will travel to Sao Paulo, where he will visit Embraer [Brazilian Aeronautics Company] and Fiesp [Sao Paulo State Federation of Industries]. Romania intends to purchase planes without engines from Embraer. The engines would be supplied by a Romanian company, which manufactures the product under license from a foreign company.

Army Troops Still Occupying Police Buildings in Sao Paulo

PY1705005694 Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television in Portuguese 2300 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Army troops have withdrawn from Federal Police [PF] buildings in Porto Alegre and Foz do Iguacu, but they are still occupying PF facilities in Sao Paulo.

The order to withdraw from Foz do Iguacu came late in the afternoon. The 180 Army soldiers who have been guarding the Brazilian border with Paraguay for the past four days quickly boarded their trucks and returned to barracks.

Army troops are still occupying the three PF buildings in Sao Paulo. Traffic remains closed and pedestrians have only limited access to the area. Army sentries continue to monitor the area from the roof of the main building.

Although Planalto Palace authorized the withdrawal of troops, the Army will not withdraw in Sao Paulo until it becomes certain that the PF strikers will resume basic services. The Army southeast regional commander will decide when to withdraw the troops.

Complying with orders from President Itamar Franco, Justice Minister Alexandre Dupeyrat will meet again tomorrow morning with members of the Chamber of Deputies National Defense Committee in an attempt to resume negotiations and end the PF strike.

Chile

Government: 'Inconvenient' for Stange To Resume Duties

PY1605203094 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1822 GMT 14 May 94

[Excerpts] Santiago, 14 May (EFE)—Today the Chilean Government insisted that it would be inconvenient if Carabineros Director General Rodolfo Stange resumed his activities on 17 May when his special leave permit, which he requested when he was brought to court, expires.

Secretary General of Government Victor Rebolledo read a communique drafted during a two-hour meeting with President Eduardo Frei and other political ministers.

The government believes it would be a "highly critical political and moral problem" if Gen. Stange returns to the Carabineros high command.

In Rebolledo's opinion, it is "useless" to continue arguing about legal aspects of Gen. Stange's situation.

The official communique disclosed today reiterates the validity of Frei's arguments on 5 April when he requested Stange's resignation after Judge Milton Juica asked that he be tried on charges of "omission of military duties." [passage omitted]

There are reports that Stange, the day after returning to work on 17 May, will travel to northern Chile for a month to avoid having to attend the opening of Congress sessions on 21 May.

Gen. Stange was questioned twice this week by Martial Court Judge Alfredo Pfeiffer on "omission of military duties." Cesar Mendoza also has appeared in court on the same charges.

Stange To Resume Duties 17 May

PY1605203194 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Imagen Internacional in Spanish 1800 GMT 16 May 94

[Relay by reporter Jose Miguel Alfaro from La Moneda Government House]

[Text] Defense Minister Edmundo Perez Yoma reported that Carabineros Director General Rodolfo Stange will resume his duties on 17 May.

Extensive meetings were held throughout this morning at Government House to discuss Gen. Stange's announced return to duties as Carabineros director general.

After a briefing by the ministers in charge of political affairs, they informed the presidents of the different parties that make up the CPPD [Coalition of Parties for Democracy] about the steps the government will be taking in this regard.

Here is what Defense Minister Edmundo Perez Yoma had to say:

[Begin recording] [Perez Yoma] The latest report the Defense Ministry has on hand is that Gen. Stange will resume his post on 17 May sometime in the morning and that he will be leaving on a tour of the northern region the following day.

That is the latest official information the Defense Ministry has on hand.

[First unidentified reporter] Does the government have any hopes that this situation will change...?

[Second unidentified reporter, interrupting]...Has there been any specific request submitted by Carabineros to repeal the decree that sent Stange on a two-month leave?

[Perez Yoma] I believe that [Defense Ministry Under Secretary for Carabineros Affairs] Luciano Fouilloux clearly explained everything on 15 May pertaining to any decrees issued, and which the government believes are unimportant.

[Third unidentified reporter] The truth is that Gen. Stange resumes his duties on 17 May.

[Perez Yoma] The truth is that the Defense Ministry has received a notice in which Gen. Stange reports his intention of resuming his duties on 17 May and of starting a tour of the northern region. [end recording]

Defense Minister Perez Yoma said that ties between the government and Carabineros at this time are smooth.

Carabineros has reasserted that Gen. Rodolfo Stange will resume his duties on 17 May.

Unlike what happened last week, today Gen. Stange did not visit his Carabineros headquarters office. Despite his announced return, there was no unusual activity here today aside from the Santiago Garrison Generals Corps' routine Monday morning meetings.

We learned this morning that Gen. Stange remained at home, where he met the Carabineros legal adviser, General Carlos Pecchi, who was again approached by the press.

[Begin recording] [Pecchi] Everything already has been said. Don't insist. All right?

[First unidentified reporter] General, but did you discuss today the tour that was announced by the under secretary?...

[Pecchi, interrupting] ...I am not allowed to answer anything.

[Second unidentified reporter]... How is Gen. Stange?

[Pecchi] Very well, very well...

[Second reporter, interrupting]..Yes?

[Pecchi, interrupting] ...Very well, very well.

[Second reporter, interrupting] .. What has he done during the past few weeks?

[Pecchi, interrupting] .. Very well, very well...

[Second reporter, interrupting] ... Calm?

[Pecchi, interrupting]...Calm, very well...

[Second reporter, interrupting] ...How about Carabineros?...

[Pecchi, interrupting] ...Everything is very calm. Thank you. [end recording]

Despite recent government statements, the Carabineros corps takes it for granted that Gen. Stange returns on 17 May. Carabineros sources reported that details are being discussed for his official return.

Stange Faces 'Legal Obstacles'

PY1605211094 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Imagen Internacional in Spanish 1100 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Luciano Fouilloux, the Defense Ministry under secretary for Carabineros affairs, has stated that there are clear legal obstacles facing General Rodolfo Stange's return to duty tomorrow as the Carabineros director general.

Interior Minister German Correa also referred to this subject:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Minister, is the government facing difficulties over the Stange case?

[Correa] No, the government is not facing difficulties. Undoubtedly it is a complex matter but the government is very solid, very strong. A government that enjoys the support of 58 percent of the citizenry can hardly face difficulties. The government, moreover, has received broad support from all sectors of the country regarding this subject—except the opposition, of course, which has politicized the subject. Undoubtedly, the government has the support of all other sectors of the country.

[Reporter] Do you believe the problem will be solved soon?

[Correa] I hope the problem will gradually be solved for the sake of Carabineros and the country. [end recording]

Regarding debates over decrees, vacations, or other types of leave, Fouilloux said that the government believes there are ethical and moral aspects that make it inconvenient for Gen. Stange to return to his activities.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Are there any legal obstacles to his return on Tuesday, 17 May?

[Fouilloux] There is a legal-administrative obstacle. There is no doubt about that. His two months leave without pay—which he requested and the government

authorized—has not expired. Unless it is suspended or the government decides to cancel it, there is an obstacle. I have reiterated this and Carabinero representatives and even the experts who have been advising Gen. Stange agree.

[Reporter] What will the government do when Stange resumes his activities?

[Fouilloux] We do not know if he will resume his activities.

[Reporter] Is that not definite yet?

[Fouilloux] Well, as I have already stated, Gen. Stange has issued a note expressing his desire to resume his activities on 17 May. On the other hand, there are those who do not want him to resume his duties because they say there is an administrative obstacle. We do not know what Gen. Stange will do on 17 May. [end recording]

Stange's Duties Change

PY1705024094 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Imagen Internacional in Spanish 0100 GMT 17 May 94

[Live report by Jose Ignacio Aguirre from the Defense Ministry building]

[Text] After meeting for more than two hours, Defense Minister Edmundo Perez Yoma and Carabineros Director General Rodolfo Stange finally reached an agreement on the thorny issue involving Gen. Stange. After the meeting, the government issued a communique, which was read by the defense minister himself. Let us listen:

[Begin Perez Yoma recording] The national defense minister, who is now addressing public opinion, has entrusted the Carabineros director general—who had acquiesced with this request—with the task of drafting a study within 30 days to streamline the institution he heads. The Defense Ministry deems that this task is of the highest national interest. Hence, the director general will have to discharge this duty by giving it precedence over all other regular duties. To this effect, he will delegate all the power that the Carabineros Organizational Law allows him to the Carabineros deputy director general. Thank you. [end recording]

This is the communique released by the defense minister, who confirmed the reports that were leaked this morning at the ministry indicating there would be surprises in the way Gen. Stange would resume office. As has been heard, he will devote himself to the streamlining of the Carabineros police. The duties of director general as such will be discharged by the deputy commander, who is the current acting director general, General [Fernando] Cordero. This is all the information we have at the Defense Ministry. Thank you.

Colombia

Poll Shows Samper, Pastrana 'Virtually' Tied

PA1505140994 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0130 GMT 15 May 94

[From the "TV Today" Newscast]

[Text] Presidential candidates today started the final leg of their campaign for the 29 May elections. Polls revealing a virtual tie between the two favorite candidates, Liberal Party's Ernesto Samper and Conservative Party's Andres Pastrana, are the highlight of this electoral period.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Miguel Maza Marquez, [National Civic Consensus] presidential candidate, today visited the most populated Barranquilla neighborhoods. Tradesmen, small-scale industrialists, and union leaders of the Atlantic region accompanied him during his visit. Maza talked about the need to make the vote compulsory in Colombia to increase voter turnout rates.

Meanwhile, before the 12 May televised presidential debate, polls showed Samper and Pastrana were virtually tied for the first round of presidential elections. Samper garnered 42.9 percent support of those polled, while Pastrana garnered 42 percent. After the debate, a poll released by the CMI Newscast on the night of 13 May showed the popularity rates of the two candidates continued to be virtually tied. Samper registered 44.6 percent, while Pastrana registered 44.3 percent.

In another turn of events, presidential candidate Jose Antonio Cortez of the Christian Union Movement [Movimiento de Union Cristiana] promised to restore the social and moral values of Colombian families.

[Cortez] We believe broken homes create violent individuals in the country.

[Reporter] Meanwhile, presidential candidate Guillermo Barbosa said his goal is to reach national peace.

[Barbosa] Peace is the solution to all the problems faced by Colombian people. To that effect, we require a government program that will invest heavily in the social sector. [end recording]

Pastrana Critical of Samper's Drugs Position

PA1605015994 Santa Fe de Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 11 May 94 p 3A

[Excerpt] Presidential candidate Andres Pastrana has said that truth must be the golden rule in politics as well as the public administration and added that this principle, which should be part of this electoral campaign, has not been respected by all the candidates for president.

Without mentioning names, but clearly alluding to them, Pastrana criticized Liberal candidates Ernesto Samper

Pizano and Humberto de la Calle for their alleged sudden changes of opinion and attitude.

"One cannot trust someone who in June 1980 signed the ANIF [National Association of Financial Institutions] report supporting the legalization of marijuana and later reiterated this support at a meeting at the presidential palace on 13 May 1993 and today changes his mind and rends his garments when what he so staunchly supported has been legalized," Pastrana said when referring to Samper.

"One cannot trust someone who today supports what he denied yesterday; one cannot trust someone who yesterday said 'I will never accept' and today accepts it," Pastrana said in reference to De la Calle.

Pastrana spoke on Monday night at the Tequendama Hotel during an event to honor him sponsored by the Future Foundation. Several reporters were also invited to attend the event.

During his speech Pastrana insisted that his actions have been in accord with his way of thinking and that he is not lying to the country nor is he contradicting himself before the Colombian people. [passage omitted]

Government Rejects Amnesty International Charge

PA1505175394 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0130 GMT 15 May 94

[Report by Diego Suarez from the "TV Today" newscast]

[Text] The Colombian Government strongly protested today Amnesty International's charges of alleged human rights abuses by the Armed Forces and the police in Colombia. Amnesty International published full-page advertisements in two prominent London newspapers saying that the government allows the Colombian Army to murder with impunity.

The full-page ad by Amnesty International in London's THE INDEPENDENT and THE GUARDIAN newspapers, show a street youth sniffing glue. The caption explains that many of these children are killed by death squads paid by businessmen who want to clear the streets.

Amnesty International also states that the ad intends to irritate the Colombian Government, which is trying to convince the world that it is doing everything in its power to end the murders. Amnesty International also says that the Colombian Government wants to make believe that most murders are the work of drug traffickers, guerrillas, or a few wicked soldiers, but the truth is that most murders are committed by the Armed Forces or the police. The organization argues that the government does not want to face the Army and it says the Army is literally allowed to kill with impunity.

Finally, the ad expresses hope that the new president, who will be elected this month, will make human rights one of his top priorities. The ad was rejected by both spokesmen of the government and the military forces. The spokesmen described the ad as biased and as part of a guerrilla strategy to damage Colombia's image and the image of the Colombian Government abroad.

Finance Minister On Subsidies, Food Imports

PA1605204694 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0130 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] The government will authorize the large-scale import of food products to check the rapid increase in the cost of living. Finance Minister Rudolf Hommes has said a document is being drafted to eliminate what he described as excessive subsidizing of the agricultural sector. He also announced that the local price of coffee would be revised before August.

[Begin Hommes recording] There is excessive protection of the agricultural and livestock sectors. This excessive protection is main reason for this price hike. Something can be done through foreign trade by expediting the import of certain types of food products. [end recording]

With this remark, Minister Hommes announced the government's determination to disable the system whereby a minimum price is set for the import of rice, sugar, beans, and other government-subsidized products. For the time being, the import of potatoes, rice, cooking oil, and certain cereals will get the green light.

[Begin Hommes recording] For instance, the prices of materials for the cooking oil industry are too high and there is excessive protection in this area. I wonder why the gentlemen [not further identified] are so silent. [end recording]

Before flying to London, where he would meet with several businessmen interested in investing in Colombia, Hommes announced he would revise the local price of coffee and said that a decree will be issued next week to prevent the participation of pension and dismissal funds in Banco Popular's privatization process.

Ecuador

Salvadoran, Ecuadoran Foreign Ministers Discuss Haiti

PA1705003394 Quito Voz de los Andes in Spanish 2300 GMT 16 May 94

[Excerpts] A special ceremony was held at the Ecuadoran Foreign Ministry this afternoon between Salvadoran Foreign Minister Miguel Angel Salaverria and Ecuadoran Foreign Minister Diego Paredes Pena. After signing some treaties and agreements, both foreign ministers met with reporters. Salvadoran Foreign Minister Miguel Angel Salaverria was asked the most questions by journalists. They questioned him about various topics of national and international interest. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] I have a question for both foreign ministers. Regarding the situation in Haiti, would your government support an armed intervention?

[Paredes] We believe in democracy, and we hope Haiti will soon return to democracy. We believe all necessary steps must be taken within the framework of respect for the will and self-determination of peoples for the return of democracy. We believe the de facto rulers of Haiti and President Jean Bertrand Aristide are greatly responsible for ensuring the country's return to a democratic system. We in Ecuador do not believe in armed intervention. We believe in the free will of the people, and we hope that the pressures that have been applied will be enough to make the de facto authorities act sensibly and allow that country to live in democracy.

[Reporter] The same question for the Salvadoran foreign minister.

[Salaverria] We are thinking along the same lines. The use of force is increasingly less necessary. Once we have an international market that adheres to the GATT, I believe the pressures that may be applied in the area of trade might be stronger and more effective than a military force. An embargo has been tried in Haiti, and it has not yielded results. Other methods are being tried out to make it work, however. As the foreign minister said, de facto military rulers have a huge responsibility to their people and to the international community. The position they have maintained cannot be kept up much longer. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Paraguay

Wasmosy Warns of Efforts To 'Destabilize' Government

PY1605180894 Asuncion ABC COLOR in Spanish 15 May 94 p 4

[Text] The president of the Republic, engineer Juan Carlos Wasmosy, yesterday reported that there are people and segments who want to destabilize his government. Although he did not supply any names, he described these people and segments as professionals of "showiness [vedettismo] and populism who sometimes use 'ungodly' methods." Wasmosy made these remarks after inaugurating the Paraguayan Airlines [Aerolineas Paraguayas] (Arpa) flights at the international airport.

Wasmosy openly complained because he believes there are people and segments who, through "showiness and populism, and sometimes using ungodly methods," are seeking to destabilize his government. He noted that despite this situation, the Paraguayan people and the Armed Forces "welcome the Arpa company." The president did not identify the people and segments he was talking about, but his remarks were interpreted as referring to people and segments who have recently been criticizing him, like trade union and peasant leaders, especially after the 2 May incidents during the nationwide strike called by the United Workers Trade Union Federation (CUT), the National Workers Federation (CNT), and the Paraguayan Confederation of Workers (CPT).

Entrepreneurs are also consistently criticizing the Wasmosy administration, claiming it is ineffective in the struggle against corruption.

Asked about a demonstration held on the evening of 13 May by various segments of the public, Interior Minister Carlos Podesta said: "They gathered and dispersed in an orderly manner. The criticism against the government is part of a script drawn up by some people who participated in the march of silence."

The interior minister noted that not all the people who participated in the march had the same goal. He emphasized: "Some of my relatives participated in the march, and they have different beliefs."

Moving on, the interior minister emphasized that it is necessary to mention that this type of demonstration may be held under the state of law, and that when they are held within the rules of the game, all demonstrations are held normally, as it is appropriate.

Asked about the consistent efforts to have Congress interpellate him, the interior minister said he is willing to go to Congress whenever he is called in order to supply all the information that congressmen might require. He emphasized: "I am a public servant, and I have the duty of reporting to the people whenever it is appropriate or necessary."

Podesta rejected reports that the government is allegedly preparing some court actions against trade union leaders and journalists. He concluded by saying: "I have actually been informed that there are people who have felt that their interests have been harmed, and that these people are considering the possibility of filing court actions, but the government has no part in these cases."

Military Will Defend Democracy to 'Last Day'

PY1605182294 Asuncion ABC COLOR in Spanish 15 May 94 p 12

[Text] Army Commander General Lino Oviedo said yesterday that the military forces who left their barracks to overthrow the Stroessnerist dictatorship will continue defending democracy "to the last day of our lives, whether from the inside or outside of the Armed Forces." Oviedo said the military will perform social works in the interior "without their weapons" if these works are ordered by the commander in chief. He made it clear that he will retire from the military if he is ordered to use his weapons against peasants. Oviedo also denied charges made by opposition politicians who accused him of being one of the main elements destabilizing President Juan Carlos Wasmosy's government.

The Army commander said that the defense of the democratic system installed in the country following the

coup that deposed Stroessner was a matter of consistency. "At least those of us who left the barracks on the night of 2 and 3 February must be consistent. We are going to be consistent to the last days of our lives, whether from the inside or outside of the Armed Forces," Oviedo said, repeating Wasmosy's words that the military and the people will defend democracy in our country.

Asked if he was aware of the existence of groups of people who are attempting to destabilize President Wasmosy's government, Oviedo answered: "The best informed person in the country is our commander in chief. He gives us the information we know. If he says so, it must be so," Oviedo said.

The Army commander said the violence that affected our country lately "will end." He made clear, however, that the Armed Forces will always act according to the Constitution, our laws, and military regulations.

"We will follow our commander in chief's orders. We will follow his instructions and what is established in the Constitution," Oviedo added.

He also promised to defend this and other government in the future "with everything in his hands." He reiterated that at this time he does not have a possible presidential candidacy in mind.

Oviedo also said if the commander in chief decides that the military must cooperate in social works in the interior of the country, the military will follow orders. "We will be very glad to work with our soldiers in the interior," Oviedo said.

The commander warned, however, that he will not have "the courage" to use his weapons against peasants even if the commander in chief orders him to do so. "I would retire from the Army if this were the case," he said.

Yesterday morning Wasmosy and Oviedo presided over the traditional military parade in front of government palace to commemorate the 183rd anniversary of our independence. Army, Navy, and Air Force units participated in the parade. Detachments of the National Police also paraded in front of the official stage.

Brazilian and Argentine naval forces participated in the military parade, receiving long applause from the public watching the ceremony.

Later the president received a delegation of indigenous people. Indian leaders complained about their urgent need for land, food, health, and education

Peru

Romanian Prime Minister Arrives

PY1605155394 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0008 GMT 14 May 94

[Text] Lima, 14 May (EFE)—Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu arrived today in Lima on an official visit. Vacaroiu is accompanied by an entourage comprised of government officials, businessmen, and journalists.

According to the Peruvian Foreign Ministry, Vacaroiu's visit seeks to promote bilateral ties and the holding of business negotiations and direct contacts between Peruvian and Romanian business and commercial sectors.

Other members of Vicaroiu's entourage include the commerce, industry, and education ministers; the secretary general of the government; the deputy foreign minister; and the chairmen of the Foreign Trade Romanian Bank, of the Industry and Commerce Chamber, and of the State Property Fund. They are accompanied by 40 businessmen and a group of journalists.

Vacaroiu, who starts his official activities on 16 May, is also scheduled to meet with Peruvian Prime Minister Efrain Goldenberg.

Prime Ministers Sign 'Important' Agreements

PY1705025394 Lima Global de Television Network in Spanish 0130 GMT 17 May 94

[Text] Peru and Romania today signed six important bilateral cooperation agreements, mainly on business and commercial investment. The documents were signed by Peruvian Prime Minister Efrain Goldenberg and Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Six important bilateral agreements between Peru and Romania were signed in the Foreign Ministry today. The agreements include investment promotion, economic and commercial agreement, and the creation of consultation mechanisms between the two countries' foreign ministries. The agreements also refer to the reciprocal elimination of visas for diplomatic use, agrarian projects, and agreements between the Romanian Chamber of Commerce and Adex [Exporters Association]. The documents were signed by Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu and his Peruvian counterpart, Efrain Goldenberg.

[Vacaroiu, in Romanian with simultaneous translation into Spanish] I am convinced the results of the agreements will be positive. I am thinking of the two countries' economic potential, the two governments' will in supporting this action for developing bilateral economic relations. [end recording]

Attacks To Celebrate 14th SL Anniversary Feared

PY1305223894 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0622 GMT 13 May 94

[Excerpts] Lima, 13 May (EFE)—The bomb attacks perpetrated in Lima last night have made people fear a new outbreak of terrorist actions in the next few days, to mark the 14th anniversary of the beginning of Shining Path's [SL] subversive activities.

The Maoist group perpetrated its first attack on 17 May 1980, and since then more than 30,000 people have died as a result of political violence.

Several explosions last night shook the offices of local banks in the districts of Surquillo, San Martin de Porres, San Juan de Lurigancho, and Brena and in the industrial zone in Lima, wounding at least four people and causing material damage.

These attacks follow similar ones that occurred between 4 and 5 May in Villa Militar, in the coastal Lima district of Chorillos, at bank branches and at an office of the public enterprise Electro Lima.

Since then security forces have stepped up patrolling in Lima and in the port of Callao, as a preventive measure in case a wave of terrorism takes place on the SL anniversary.

The National Counterterrorism Directorate (Dincote) has expressed fear that the Maoist group could unleash a wave of attacks and crimes in Lima, ordered by its current leader Oscar Ramirez Durand, aka "Feliciano." [passage omitted]

The SL celebrates its 14th anniversary in the midst of internal divisions, and weakened by the harassment of the Armed Forces, which since 5 April have been conducting a new offensive against the subversive columns in the jungle area of Huanuco Department.

The SL's attacks are no longer as fierce as they were before the arrest of its main leader [Abimael Guzman] on 12 September 1992.

Political violence has caused 30,215 deaths in Peru since 1980, of which 14,239 are alleged terrorists, 12,932 civilians, and 2,737 member of the security forces, as well as 307 drug traffickers. This information was published by the magazine PERUPAZ of the Constitution and Society Institute.

Car Bomb Explodes in Lima; No Injuries

PY1605133994 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1245 GMT 16 May 94

[Text] Lima, 16 May (EFE)—A car bomb exploded today, Monday, in front of the Bank of Credit in San Borja district in Lima. There were no reports of injuries. The explosion affected nearby shops and residences, and the police have cordoned off the area to establish the amount of explosives used.

The car used in the attack was a 1970 "Hillman" that was stolen yesterday from a noncommissioned police officer.

Another car bomb exploded on 15 May in the Miraflores residential district, causing damage to a pension fund building and to nearby shops and residences, but there were no reports of injuries, either.

The series of attacks are attributed to the armed Maoist group Shining Path, on the eve of 17 May, the 14th anniversary of its first attack. In those 14 years, more than 30,000 have died and $20 million have been reported in losses caused by attacks or acts of sabotage.

Lima Mayor Belmont on Relations With Fujimori

94SM0333B Lima SI in Spanish 4-10 Apr 94 pp 14-19

[Interview with Lima Mayor Ricardo Belmont by Santiago Pedraglio; place and date not given: "Belmont Speaks Out"]

[Text] [Pedraglio] You have stated that the executive branch is killing Lima, that never has so much harm been done to the city.... Do you reaffirm this view?

[Belmont] Yes, I reaffirm my statements. Taken out of context, their terms may sound very confrontational; but within the context of an explanation, each has its logic.

[Pedraglio] Do you believe that without funds of its own Lima's municipality can carry out projects by simply coordinating with the district authorities, as the central government representatives asserted in rationalizing DL 776?

[Belmont] According to the government representatives, something that has been working rather well—and the proof is that I was elected to continue carrying out works projects—does not work. They say that it is not technical and that it is not fair because it does not distribute the benefits equitably...and they pull a figure out of a hat, wave it, then clam up. They practically issue the order to dynamite Lima. It is, as I term it, the biggest of all attempts, one that nobody can justify. And now, everyone has grown silent. They accuse me of pursuing electoral ends. But no one can defend stripping a municipal administration's budget of 44,887,900 soles, by a mere stroke of the pen.

[Pedraglio] That is a reduction from 64 million soles to 19 million, as I read it.

[Belmont] In one round. And from 144,359,000 for the Invermet project I have been slashed to 17 million, also in one round. Half of that 144 million was to have been invested in new urban settlements.

[Pedraglio] Why do you think Fujimori supported your candidacy a year ago?

[Belmont] Fujimori did not support me. Fujimori had a candidate named Pablo Gutierrez. When the results of the polls were submitted to Fujimori—the same polls also rated me—Pablo Gutierrez was summoned to the Government House and told, "You must withdraw." Pablo Gutierrez asked, "Why?" And the answer was, "Because you are going to lose." The Administration had decided to pull its candidate out of the race so as to not be on the losing side. It had begun comparing the views of the two contenders. Those views obviously gave it the

answer it was seeking, a week or 10 days in advance, as to which of the two was likely to win.

[Pedraglio] Do you believe that the executive branch's behavior—including that of the president, of course—is owing to its viewing you as a potential adversary in the 1996 presidential elections?

[Belmont] That is plain as day to the taxi drivers, the household help in the homes I visit, the civil construction workers...and even to the kids. They are all aware that Fujimori is jealous of anyone who could overshadow him. In Lima, he never got more than 26 percent of the vote, and in each of two elections I have scored 48 percent.

[Pedraglio] The government has said that the bulk of available funding has heretofore been centralized in Lima to the detriment of the rest of the country's municipalities, and that its intent is to decentralize those funds so as to benefit the small districts, the little urban centers. What is your view of this argument?

[Belmont] I have already said, on one occasion—laughing at that attitude—that this was the national dirty-tricks government, the leg-puller of all of us Peruvians who have seen history unfurl before us and who have lived it and taken part in it.

Lima's municipality is not a rich one. It is a very poor one. Its budget is one twentieth that of Bogota. As a candidate, Pablo Gutierrez said, "If I am elected mayor, I shall have money to provide water, electricity, and sewers, and to finish the Santa Anita market, and I shall complete more construction projects than all the other previous mayors together." One can legitimately wonder whether, had he won, the government would have acted in the same way.

[Pedraglio] Do you regret having taken a favorable position on 5 April toward Fujimori's decision to dissolve Parliament, and toward everything else he did?

[Belmont] I must again point out that memories are very faulty. I issued a statement approved by Lima's Metropolitan Council in which I deplored the break with the constitutional order and earnestly hoped for its early restoration. But interviews taking on a political turn, as they sometimes do, the next question was, "What do you think of Parliament?" I answered that Parliament was a disaster, good for nothing, in the belief—shared by thousands of Peruvians—that a democratic Parliament would be created within the shortest possible time, that would be much closer to the people, more austere, and more dynamic. That is what I urged.

And this I will admit: I believed in the good faith of the government. I understood the government's position because I have my own municipal parliament to deal with. And as it is designed, the city's "executive branch," the mayor, is unable to function unless he is backed by a majority and a consensus. The city retrogressed badly during my initial term, because of the considerable resistance I encountered in the "municipal parliament." I could see that I, too, would have welcomed a change in the municipal parliamentary structure; but, as written and published in all the newspapers of 23 April 1992, I was never in agreement with the break away from the constitutional order.

But I did believe in President Fujimori. I acknowledge that. I saw in him a man who was acting pragmatically in areas in which I would have done the same.

[Pedraglio] In which areas, for example?

[Belmont] In that of social reinsertion, in privatization—but not in the way he has now done it. That way is not the most elegant, to say the least.

[Pedraglio] At what point were you no longer convinced of the government's orientation? At what point did you say "this is not working?"

[Belmont] When he won his second election. Because I noted that the government became very touchy about my very high standing in the polls. The government was already cooking up his reelection, but I did not know that. No one knew it.

Then they started talking about a new Constitution. I did not lean toward a yes. Instead, I published a very harsh commentary that leaned toward a no. I maintained an impartial position as a mayor, but from a municipal viewpoint, I pointed out the reasons that put all local governments at risk. It was at that point that I realized the danger of the octopus.

[Pedraglio] You had a critical opinion of the previous Parliament. Do you believe that the present one is better?

[Belmont] No. It is worse. That is why I am frustrated. This is a Parliament designed to have Fujimori reelected, so that he can push through the laws he chooses to. It is simply a Parliament of puppets. The opposition is painted on the walls. And I feel that I was mistaken in putting too much faith in the people.

[Pedraglio] Do you think Fujimori is going to easily relinquish power in 1995?

[Belmont] No. It is going to be very difficult. It has been very well thought out. One who intends to run a clean election, as president, answers the questions asked by the press. But he does not mock, he does not go around acting like an adolescent, he does not delegate whatever is not to his advantage, he does not inaugurate things, day after day, that are beneath the dignity of a president.... There is only one player on the stage. In my view, the drug of power has converted him into an addict who has no intention of abjuring what I call the morphine of power.

[Pedraglio] You have said that you are not going to run for office. In sports terms: Is this a feint or for real?

[Belmont] No, no, no. This is for real. I do not intend to stand. But I do intend to remain in my role as the elected mayor and defend the municipal charter to the bitter end.

It is only since I became a potential candidate that I have had all these problems. Between 1990 and 1993, the president lauded my works projects. He consistently complimented me. He would ask me, "How do you do it, Ricardo?" He would accompany me to view them. But at the most recent project inauguration, to which I invited him—and, I might say, his name has figured on all the dedication plaques; I was not interested in having my name figure on them—I noted in his gaze that he was already seeking a candidate for Lima.

He had told me on many occasions that he saw no other candidate who could compete with me, with so many public works. But a month and a half before elections, he telephoned me at home to give me orders, to tell me that I must rescind some specified taxes because he was not in agreement with them. I replied: "Mr. President, I am the mayor. I am grateful for your suggestion, but leave it to me to decide." He did not like that, and in one blow he annulled one of the vehicle taxes I was about to announce. At that point I realized that the president wanted to govern Lima.

Subsequently, I submitted the bill of a new organic law of municipalities to him that would enable Lima to operate under the next mayor to be elected. At that time, it was not my intention to stand, but I did feel that whoever did stand should have the easements that I did not have. He received the bill, thanked me for it, and in the end I believe he must have said to himself, "I am going to implement this plan without Belmont." I thanked him for his frankness....

[Pedraglio] Why?

[Belmont] He suggested to me that I withdraw, that I not run for election. I had told him, "Mr. President, I am an independent...."

[Pedraglio] When did that happen?

[Belmont] About two months before the elections; more or less in November 1992. He was very courteous to me in this regard. But he already wanted to control all areas.

[Pedraglio] When you spoke of supporting an independent candidate, did you have in mind Perez de Cuellar?

[Belmont] He is the man who could beat the president, on the basis of a very precisely detailed governing platform that would deliver what it promised.

[Pedraglio] What would you consider the basic lines of a government platform?

[Belmont] First, an economic program. One cannot promise to deliver an antishock economy and proceed to deliver a shock instead, an economy that has forgotten the mass sectors and has made the rich richer and the poor poorer. The program would all have to be studied by a team of economists, in order to tell the Peruvians, the many unemployed and the many underemployed, that from the day the next party takes office, the rules of the game will be these, and will not change.

The platform would also provide that whoever takes office as head of the government and fails to keep his or her word will fare as the presidents of other countries do. They must resign immediately for having lied to the people. A president's lie in the Middle East, and in the United States as well, entails his immediate resignation. Here, instead, presidents, members of Parliament, politicians, lie, but they complain when a political group commits an act—which I do not justify-in the face of powerlessness stemming from so many lies. The liars themselves are the root cause of such occurrences, because they have lied so much. That is all there is to it.

[Pedraglio] Of the independents, today, Perez de Cuellar appears to be the best positioned, objectively speaking.

[Belmont] Basically, I do not believe in polls.

[Pedraglio] Thus, I could not infer that if you were to support an independent capable of beating Fujimori, Perez de Cuellar would be your best choice as of today.

[Belmont] Perez de Cuellar is one of this country's highly eminent assets. Peru would immediately gain international respect and that of all the Peruvians, for what he represents. But I would not be part of the ticket, nor would I accept a position in the government. On the contrary, I would announce my retirement from Peruvian politics. That says it all.

[Pedraglio] But could you, as you have stated it, support him?

[Belmont] I would support the ideas posited by Mario Vargas Llosa, as I did in his time. I have been frank enough to say, "Gentlemen, if I were president I would do what Vargas Llosa has said he will accomplish." He had an emergency social platform, he was initiating a serious privatization process, he was opening the economy to a free-market one.... That platform was supported by three master beams which I applauded.

What we Peruvians need at this stage is to agree on a master plan. But I would like for the person who assumes responsibility for its implementation, as the representative of those majorities—and I do not want to be that person; I sincerely believe that I am not cut out for these things; I have given six years of my life to public service and I now want to return to my own work, my business affairs, my personal life, for strictly family reasons—but I would like that person to be one of known qualifications, not a new arrival, appearing from one day to the next with rabbits under his hat, inventing government along the way. I would like that person to be one who is prepared to accept a serious commitment to the country and to the solution of the problems that we all see and that have not been resolved for the past many years.

And the person best meeting these conditions is Perez de Cuellar, because of his record. I would like to see him representing Peru so as to bring dirty-tricks government to an end.

[Pedraglio] It is said that you are trapped by the Channel 11 thing, and that if you were to run for election, your opponents would bring out some things....

[Belmont] Then, let them bring them out once and for all. There is no dirt. On the contrary, I have proven to be an entrepreneur who builds his enterprise on the basis of human capital, with a broad stockholder base in which 70,000 persons participate, who invests all of his money in fixed assets that today are enabling Channel 11 to transmit and compete head-on—not as a monopoly—with the television monsters, which have lost much more money than Channel 11 has lost. On the contrary, the government should reward me for having survived two crises: that of Alan Garcia and that of Fujimori, with its brutal recession that has forced the sale of one of the biggest television enterprises, Channel 4, to the Mexicans, because Channel 4 could no longer survive. Channel 11, on the other hand, with all its faults and mistakes, has made no profit, but it is solid as a rock because it owes nothing to anyone, and because its economic base is entirely shipshape.

[Pedraglio] Is the enterprise's relationship with that broad base of shareholders really operative?

[Belmont] Of course it is. We hold stockholders meetings. We hold them publicly. The problem is that in this country, success is prohibited. Channel 11 is always present on the screen. It has never gone dark in its seven years on the air. Moreover, I would not have been elected if I were a swindler, a man who had defrauded his contingency. I have 70,000 partners, and if we multiply each family by five... If I have won the elections that I have, it is because my partners voted for me, as did others who were not partners, of course. Furthermore, I am certain that if I issue a new block of shares in Channel 11, the number of my partners will exceed 1 million.

[Pedraglio] What is the basis of the suit that you have announced will be brought by the municipality against the government?

[Belmont] My lawyers are looking into it. It is the first case of this type, in which government sues government. Generally speaking, throughout history, the government has been a great ally of the mayor. My team of lawyers, accredited by the Lima Bar Association, is presently studying the legal aspects of the action.

Government Institutions Assessed 2 Years After Coup

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[Commentary by Fernando Rospigliosi: "Institutions Adrift"]

[Text] Two years now since the 5 April coup d'etat, and almost four since the start of Alberto Fujimori's administration, many achievements and many failures have been placed and weighed on the scale of evaluations. These have ranged from the decrease in inflation and terrorist actions to the president's authoritarianism. But very little has been said of what is perhaps the decisive measure by which a regime can be judged, namely, the state of the institutions. A careful examination of a few of our institutions may help in arriving at this judgment.

The Judiciary

Following the coup d'etat, the government acted in a totally discretionary manner, dismissing those it wanted to rid itself of and appointing those it felt like appointing. Then a Panel of Honor, appointed by the government itself, carried out an evaluation and appointed a new Supreme Court. In sum, a reorganization was made short work of by exercising powers that no democratic government ever had. The result is devastating.

It is devastating not only because of unusual cases like that of the Cantuta Law, in which meddling by other powers clearly demonstrates the subordination of the judiciary, or that of the unconstitutional appointment of Miss Nelida Colan as the nation's attorney general, owing to her well-known relationship with the administration, but because the functioning of the judiciary continues to be the same or worse than before: slow, inefficient, corrupt. Any citizen who through misfortune falls into its net becomes only too aware of this.

Congress

Made exactly to measure for the regime, its characteristics, prerogatives, and limitations were all decided by the regime itself. And the regime is able to count on an absolute majority to control the structure it has created. Congressional oversight is a complete nullity, since not a single investigation concerning the period of the present administration—which is what matters—has produced any result whatever. Even investigations concerning previous administrations—which the present government seeks to discredit—have amounted to nothing of any consequence.

The Constitution created by this Congress is a travesty that is violated by the government itself, and that today, less than five months after its promulgation, requires immediate amendments, such as that of the wretched Habeas Data. As for its legislative accomplishment, it is difficult to remember anything remarkable.

And from the political point of view, it remains completely subordinated to Fujimori, to the Armed Forces' leadership, and to anyone who wields a modicum of power.

The Police

The government or, better said, the SIN [National Intelligence Service] and the Army leadership took control of

the Ministry of Interior on 28 July 1990. Their first step was to remove the minister and reorganize the institution. Their last step was to deal the coup de grace to the DINCOTE [Counterterrorism Directorate], and begin its dismantlement on December 1992, immediately after the capture of Abimael Guzman.

Today the Police as an institution are afflicted by the same ills of yore, only modified and amplified: low salaries, faulty equipment, demoralization, corruption, inefficiency. Up to a certain point, the institution has begun being supplanted by night watchmen.

Armed Forces

Even though their morale and their image improved after the capture of Guzman, their professionalism and their constituted authority have been severely compromised. Politicization of command, expulsion or retirement of many of their best officers, factionalism, the system of internal espionage that corrodes camaraderie and creates a mistrust bordering on paranoia, have brought the Armed Forces to a situation of dangerous fragmentation. To these must be added the penetration of drug trafficking, a peculiar and extremely dangerous type of corruption that is not being held in check.

The foregoing list of institutions is not by any means exhaustive. It includes neither municipalities, nor ministries, nor the diplomatic service, nor other public agencies; but it exemplifies the situation.

The noticeable improvements in SUNAT [National Tax Administration Superintendency] and a few in IPSS [Peruvian Institute of Social Security]—the dismantlement of which is, on the other hand, being sought—are not even remotely sufficient to compensate for the government's systematic work of corroding the institutions.

The importance of solidly-based institutions is paramount in two respects. First, as to the long-term outlook, they are the essential prerequisites to the modernization of a country. U.S. political expert Samuel Huntington cites the institutionalization process as the determinative factor in the transition from a traditional society to a modern one without falling into chaos and disintegration. "A government with a low institutionalization level is not only weak; it is also bad," says Huntington. This is because, among other reasons, "a society in which institutions are weak lacks the necessary capability to contain the excess of personal and parochial ambitions," and because a simple political system that depends upon a single individual "is also less stable."

And second, institutions are a key factor in determining the success or failure of the processes involved in a return to democracy. As the Argentine Guillermo O'Donnell has stated, the transition that has taken place in Latin America, from authoritarian regimes to governments elected through clean elections, requires a second transition, from those governments to democratic governments. According to O'Donnell, this second transition has not happened yet, except in countries that had a developed institutional system prior to the establishment of the dictatorships: Chile and Uruguay. The rest are still mired in uncertainty.

Although today the merry beneficiaries of Fujimorism may not care two hoots about institutionalized values, the consequences for the future of the country will be far-reaching.

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